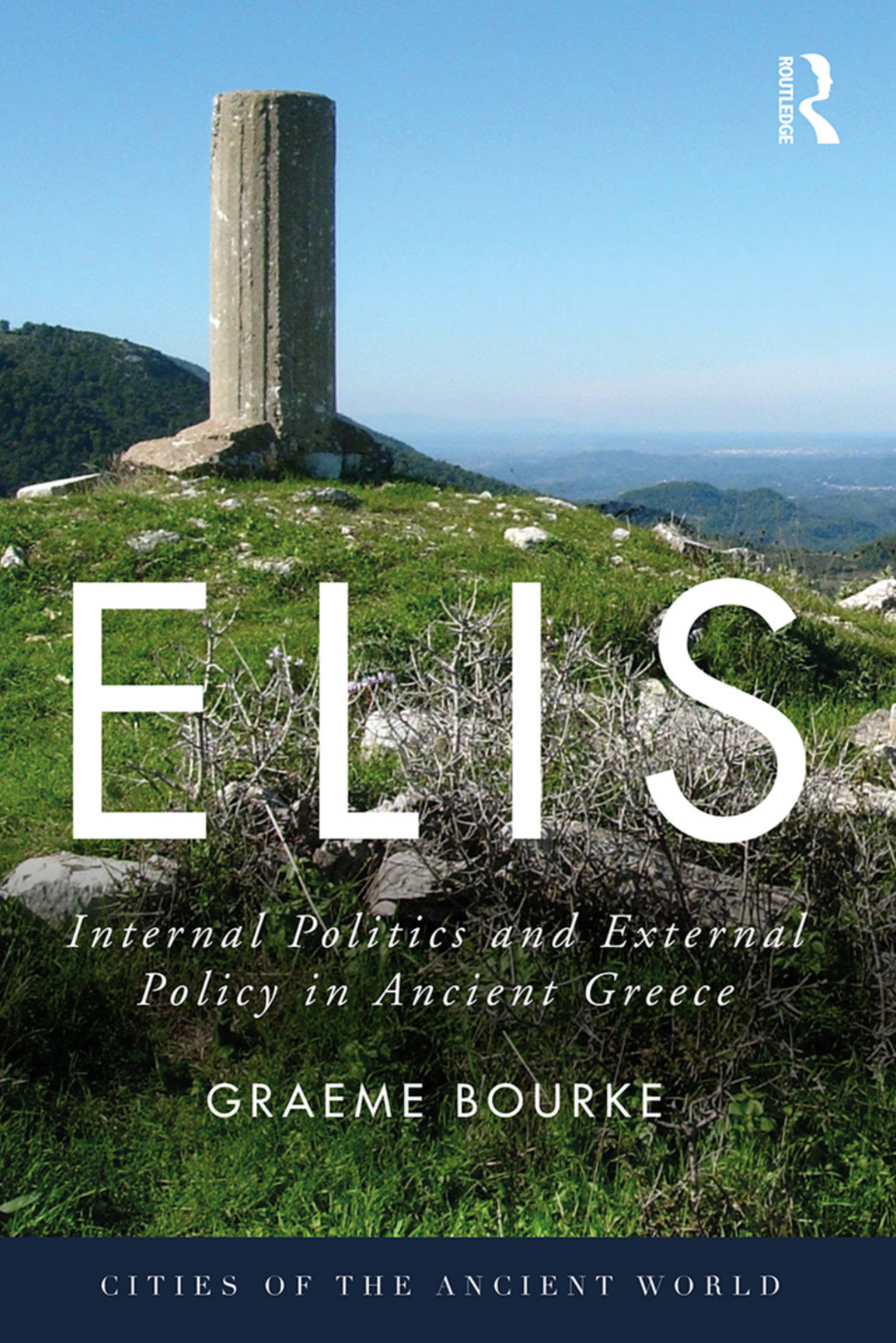


The background of the cover is a photograph of a tall, weathered stone column standing on a grassy hill. In the distance, there are rolling hills and a clear blue sky. The word 'ELIS' is superimposed in large white letters over the middle of the image.

# ELIS

*Internal Politics and External  
Policy in Ancient Greece*

GRAEME BOURKE

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# Elis

*Elis* examines the city of Elis from its earliest history, through the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods until its loss of independence under Roman rule. Through examining this prominent city state, its role in contemporary politics and the place of Olympia in its territory, Graeme Bourke allows the reader to explore broader issues, such as the relationship between the Spartans and their various allies, often collectively referred to as ‘the Peloponnesian League’, the connection between political structures and Panhellenic sanctuaries, and the network of relationships between various ancient sanctuaries throughout the Greek-speaking world. The volume, which makes available in English for the first time much of the debate about the city, provides a valuable resource for students and academics studying the city of Elis, the Peloponnese and the relationships within it, and pre-Roman Greece as a whole.

**Graeme Bourke** is a Senior Lecturer at the University of New England, Australia.

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# **Elis**

## **Internal Politics and External Policy in Ancient Greece**

**Graeme Bourke**

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**For my parents, Frank and Nellie Bourke**



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University of New England  
Armidale NSW

# Abbreviations

|                           |                                                                                                                                                                |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>AR</i>                 | <i>Archaeological Reports</i> . Athens: Hellenic Society.                                                                                                      |
| <i>ADelt</i>              | <i>Archaiologikon deltion</i> . Athens: Hypourgeio Politismou.                                                                                                 |
| BCD 2004                  | <i>Coins of Olympia: The BCD Collection</i> (Auction Catalogue). Zurich.                                                                                       |
| BCD 2006                  | <i>Coins of the Peloponnese: The BCD Collection</i> (Auction Catalogue). Zurich.                                                                               |
| <i>CAH</i>                | <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.                                                                                      |
| <i>FGrH</i>               | Jacoby, F. (1923– ) <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin: Weidmann.                                                                       |
| <i>IACP</i>               | Hansen, M.H. and Nielsen, T.H. (eds) (2004) <i>An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.                             |
| <i>IG</i>                 | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873– ).                                                                                                                         |
| <i>IGA</i>                | Roehl, H. (1882) <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter.                                                                              |
| <i>IvO</i>                | Dittenberger, W. and Purgold, K. (1896) <i>Inscripfen von Olympia</i> . Berlin: Asher.                                                                         |
| <i>LPGN</i>               | Fraser, P.M. and Matthews, E. (eds) (1987– ) <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.                                               |
| <i>LSAG</i>               | Jeffery, L.H. (1990) <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.                                                                     |
| Minon                     | Minon, S. (2007) <i>Les Inscriptions Éléennes Dialectales (VI–II siècle avant J.-C.)</i> (2 vols). Geneva: Libraire Droz S.A.                                  |
| ML                        | Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. (1969) <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.                                                 |
| Moretti                   | Moretti, L. (1959) ‘Olympianikai, I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici’, <i>Atti della academia nazionale dei Lincei</i> 8.8. Rome.                        |
| <i>NIO</i>                | Siewert, P. and Tauber, H. (2013) <i>Neue Inschriften von Olympia: die ab 1896 veröffentlichten Texte</i> (Tyche Sonderband 7). Vienna: Holzhausen der Verlag. |
| <i>RE</i>                 | Wissowa, G. et al. (eds) (1893–1981) <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart: Metzler.                                       |
| Schöne                    | Schöne, A. (1967) <i>Eusebi Chronicorum libri duo</i> (2 vols). Dublin: Weidmann.                                                                              |
| <i>SEG</i>                | (1923– ) <i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Leiden: Sijthoff.                                                                                          |
| <i>Stsv.</i>              | (1960– ) <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> . Munich: Beck.                                                                                               |
| <i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup> | Dittenberger, W. et al. (1915–24) <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (3rd edn). Leipzig: S. Hirzelium.                                                     |

# Introduction

This book is a political history of both the north-western region of the Peloponnese, known in early times as ‘Elis’, and the Classical and later city of the same name located within that region. Far from summarising earlier scholarship, it seeks to reconsider particular aspects of this history in the light of both recent scholarly developments and further observations. Scholars, for example, recognising the significance of pastoralism among the ancient Eleians, have often assumed that the various forms of constitution which they adopted throughout their history consistently reflected the moderate politics of an almost exclusively rural society. The existence of a thriving pastoral industry, however, need not entail that other economic activities were neglected, and there is reason to believe that goods of various kinds were produced for both local markets and export, either by sea to the wider Mediterranean world or by land into the interior of the Peloponnese. The city of Elis, too, experienced ongoing growth from the time of the synoikism of 471 BC until the Roman period. It has also been assumed that an Eleian *polis* beside the River Peneios expanded by peaceful means or other throughout the Archaic and early Classical periods until by the mid-fifth century BC it had absorbed or subjected the remaining communities of the region in a manner analogous to the Spartan acquisition of Lakonia and Messenia. This conclusion, however, is based upon the questionable premise that the early remains beside the Peneios and a document found among them belong to an Archaic *polis* called ‘Elis’ which had existed before the synoikism of 471 BC, so we need to consider alternative narratives.

In 1910 Benedikt Niese questioned the reliability of reports in certain ancient texts that during the Archaic period the Eleians had overcome the people of a polity called ‘Pisa’, the supposed original custodians of Olympia, and taken control of the sanctuary for themselves. Although Niese’s thesis was rarely accepted during the twentieth century, twenty-first-century scholars have generally embraced it, proposing that reports of the conquest of Pisa were constructed during the 360s BC when the Arkadian League created the Pisatan state as an instrument of its dominance over Olympia. Before we reject these reports out of hand, however, it is necessary to take into consideration another important development in the field of ancient Peloponnesian history: also in the current century, Pamela-Jane Shaw has questioned the common procedure of readily converting the Olympiad numbers

## 2 Introduction

provided for Archaic events in certain ancient texts into dates in the Julian calendar. These numbers, she explains, often have different starting points, and the ancient practice of assigning Olympiad numbers to events, rather than assigning events to numbers in a consistent scheme, has led to dating discrepancies of disturbing proportions. The reports once interpreted as evidence of an early sixth-century BC struggle between the Eleians and the people of Pisa for control over Olympia may thus have great significance for our conception of late Archaic and early Classical Eleian history.

When it comes to understanding relations between the ancient Greek states in general, we need to remain fully aware of the kinds of presupposition which underlie much that has been written about them. Our own political inclinations, whether we are conscious of their influence or not, often determine what kind of narrative of human political relations we construct: in one well-known framework associated with the left, struggle between social classes is seen as the fundamental basis of human political interaction. At the other end of the political spectrum, human history is perceived as a struggle between races or *ethne*. Still on the right, but also typical of much history being written today, is the representation of the human political past as a conflict between states, each striving to extend its power over its neighbours or struggling to maintain its independence. It is doubtful whether this kind of representation is valid for modern times, when the nation state is to be found everywhere, and even less likely that it might be usefully applied to relations between the ancient Greek *poleis*.

A more balanced approach would give due prominence to conflict between political factions, and in particular between democrats and oligarchs of various shades. In my view, this kind of conflict is at least as important for our understanding of the nature of ancient Greek political interactions as the struggles between states upon which modern scholars often focus. This is not to deny that a 'national interest' ever determined the policy of a state. Such an outcome, however, was exceptional rather than general, and we much more commonly see the members of a dominant faction siding with states governed by means of institutions comparable to their own or acting to promote the interests of a similar faction within another state. The subtext to warfare between the many city-states of ancient Greece is often a more fundamental conflict between the adherents of competing political ideologies. The interests of the supporters of aristocracy in one state, for example, may have been more in line with the concerns of the aristocrats of a neighbouring *polis* than with those of the *demos* in their own. To what extent factional struggles originated in antagonisms between social classes, I will leave it for the reader to decide, though in cases where the aristocrats of one *polis* acted to promote aristocratic rule in another, factional and class interests seem inseparable. It appears to me both negligent and futile, however difficult it may sometimes be to find in our sources clear evidence of internal structures and events, to try to explain ancient Greek political history exclusively from the point of view according to which the interests of all the citizens of a state were identical.

The theme of this study, although it focuses upon just one *polis*, is the interplay between internal politics and external policy in ancient Greece. Internal political



transformations are irregularly recorded in our sources, but abrupt changes in the allegiances of states often reflect such events. When we find that a state has suddenly left one alliance and sought friends elsewhere, we ought to suspect that internal political factors were influencing external policy, and other evidence is sometimes available to corroborate such suspicions. Changes in allegiance, on the other hand, could themselves bring about internal political change, and the victors in inter-state struggles often imposed political arrangements acceptable to themselves upon the vanquished. The historical record of the Archaic and Classical period is full of instances of Lakedaimonian (this term refers to the inhabitants of Lakedaimon, the territory of the Spartans) interference in other people's affairs. The view has often been put forward that the Spartans supported oligarchs in the Greek states because they could be counted upon to do their best to ensure that the states they ruled maintained their Spartan allegiance, but it may also be that they marshalled the resources of the Lakedaimonian state to further the cause of aristocratic government elsewhere, even when that meant placing the security of their own *polis* at risk. During the Hellenistic period the Akhaian League became the new champion of the oligarchic cause in the Peloponnese. An additional factor, however, was also introduced into Greek inter-state relations at this time, that of the military dynasts who sought to increase their own power at the expense of their rivals. Such figures might support one faction or the other, or else impose a tyranny, depending upon what suited their policy objectives at a given moment.

It has not always been possible to resolve apparent contradictions between various pieces of historical evidence, and there are times when one record is simply confused or misleading and another must be preferred. When two texts appear at first impression contradictory, however, I have not been quick to accept one and dismiss the other, since a sustained effort to determine whether or not they might report different aspects of the same events or phenomena can often yield rewarding results. It is unsound, of course, to assume that mythological reports contain a historical core. A single body of evidence, nevertheless, can often contain both mythological and historical elements. In such cases, I have worked patiently to disentangle the two. When aetiological myths appear in ancient texts, while rejecting clearly mythological explanations, I have not simultaneously disregarded the phenomena they seek to explain. Although remaining alert to the ways in which apparently historical reports can reflect contemporary circumstances, nor have I adopted the practice of hastily dismissing inconvenient evidence as the product of intentional construction.

As Pausanias (4.2.3) succinctly observes, 'most of what happened in Greece has come to be disputed.' I make no claim that the interpretations presented in this work somehow constitute the final word about Eleian history. The evidence we possess of the ancient Greek political past records only a small portion of the structures that existed and the events that took place, and there must be much of significance of which no record at all remains. If we did have access to more evidence, it would most likely be necessary to modify some of the conclusions reached in this book, among others. In many cases, too, there is more than one plausible means of interpreting the evidence already available. None of us 'knows'

#### 4 *Introduction*

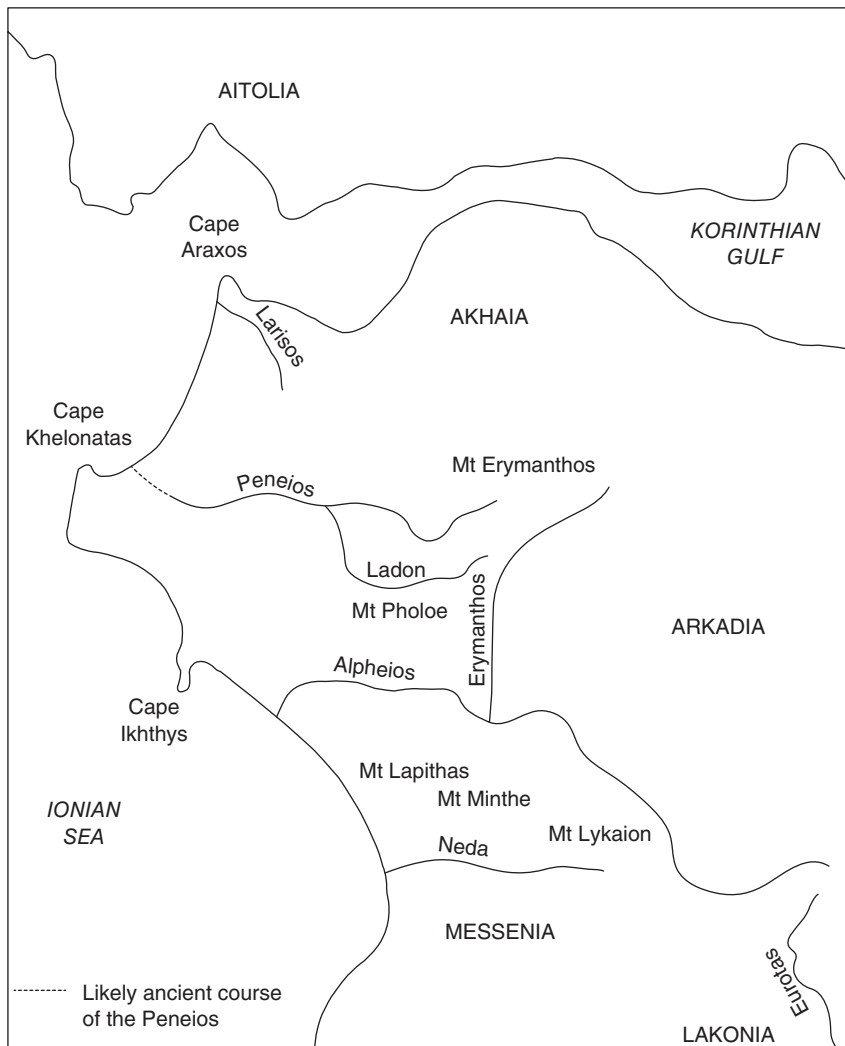
what happened with regard to ancient Eleia, we simply make what seems to us the most well-informed and plausible interpretation possible of the limited available evidence. This qualification, of course, applies as much to what has already been written about Eleian history as it does to this work. Any implication by an individual scholar or group of scholars that they have some kind of ownership of the history of a particular ancient people ought to be quickly dismissed in favour of a more tentative approach. I submit what follows as a challenge to received interpretations in the belief that it will contribute to improving our understanding of ancient Eleia in particular and ancient Greece in general. In response, it is hoped, other scholars in this field will come to reflect more deeply upon the assumptions that guide their work. Where this book does not convince them to revise their earlier views, it might at least oblige them to more rigorously support their claims.

# 1 The land and its people

## Ancient Eleia

From the high country of Arkadia, the heart of the Peloponnese, several mountain ranges extend towards the sea, delineating various lowland regions, such as Argolis, Lakonia, Messenia and, in the north-west, Eleia. It has been pointed out, however, that our image of the Peloponnese ‘hanging like a mulberry leaf from the stalk of Corinth’ is not that of the ancients, and to Philip V of Makedon as he invaded it late in the third century BC the Peloponnese ‘was surely no two-dimensional outline on a horizontal map-table, but a mental or visual image occupying his actual and mental gaze at eye level’.<sup>1</sup> The gaze of most inhabitants of and visitors to the peninsula did not always need to be as acute and far-reaching as that of the military dynast striving to dominate its diverse regions. We can, nevertheless, gain a useful understanding of the topography of the particular region with which this work is concerned by considering how it must have appeared to ancient travellers entering through various portals: the coastal gateways from the south and north; the passes down from the highlands of Arkadia; and the seaports.

Those who came from Messenia in the south entered the region by crossing the River Neda, which flowed westward from the mountains of south-western Arkadia towards the Ionian Sea (Map 1.1).<sup>2</sup> Because of the rugged nature of the terrain through which the Neda flowed, it could easily be crossed only at its mouth or near its source.<sup>3</sup> After fording this river, travellers could continue northward along the coast, with the valleys formed by the western spurs of Mount Minthe (Alvena) on their right, the sea close by on their left and the great east-west ridge of Mount Lapithas (Smerna) rising ever more prominently before them as they advanced (Figure 1.1). The country between the lower Neda and this imposing (though not trackless) barrier constituted a distinct geographical entity, which, since Lepreon was its most important ancient community, we may call ‘Lepreatis’. Travellers who entered the region from the south would then have followed the coastal road north-westward until they reached the point where the western extremity of Lapithas, extending almost to the sea, rose steeply on their right. In Leake’s time, here was located ‘a Dervény, or guarded pass, at the foot of a steep rocky point, projecting to the sea from the mountain of Smerna’.<sup>4</sup>



*Map 1.1* Eleia: principal physical features and neighbouring regions. Created by the author.

Emerging from this pass and thereby leaving Lepreatis, travellers could either turn inland through the hilly country between Mount Lapithas and the River Alpheios or else continue along the coast until they reached the ford near the mouth of that stream.<sup>5</sup> They might then either turn right and follow the Alpheios valley into the interior or proceed north-westward along the coastal plain with hilly, forested country on their right until they reached the wide, open and fertile plain of the Peneios, the most extensive in the Peloponnese.



*Figure 1.1* Looking northward from the E55 towards Mt Lapithas. Photo courtesy of the author.

Travellers who took the coastal route into Eleia from the most northerly region of the Peloponnese, Akhaia, crossed the River Larisos (Mana), which flowed down from the westerly reaches of the great, multi-peaked mass of Mount Erymanthos/Olonos.<sup>6</sup> With these high mountains visible on their left, they continued southward into the plain of the Peneios.<sup>7</sup> The Larisos itself presented little impediment, but the district surrounding it may well have been covered, as in the nineteenth century AD, by an extensive forest of oak.<sup>8</sup>

It was also possible to enter Eleia from the interior of the Peloponnese, using one of two major routes. The first of these led travellers south-westward through the precipitous landscape of north-western Arkadia, with Mount Lampeia on their right and beyond it the ‘formidable obstacle’ of the long ridge of Mount Erymanthos (Figure 1.2).<sup>9</sup> Below to their left flowed the upper reaches of the Erymanthos River, which continued southward until it met the Alpheios and, since both its banks rose steeply for much of its course, constituted ‘the natural boundary’ between Eleia and Arkadia.<sup>10</sup> Travellers following this route turned westward after a time, away from the gorge of the Erymanthos and through forested country to meet the left bank of the River Ladon, a tributary of the Peneios.<sup>11</sup> From this point it was possible to either continue westward along the Ladon towards the plain of the Peneios or turn south-westward across the terraced plateau of Mount Pholoe (Kapellis),<sup>12</sup> stretching from the steep gorge of the Erymanthos River in the east to about halfway to the sea in the west, and thus descend along the course of the Kladeos into the Alpheios valley.<sup>13</sup>



*Figure 1.2* Looking northward from the likely site of ancient Makiston across the Alpheios valley and the Pholoe plateau to Mt Erymanthos. Photo courtesy of the author.

The other major route from Arkadia into Eleia, leading down from south-western Arkadia directly into the Alpheios valley, constituted the most common means of entering the region from the inland of the Peloponnese. The Alpheios sprang from the same district of southern Arkadia as the Eurotas, the river of Sparta, and these streams flowed in generally opposite directions along the most significant furrow in the Peloponnese. Travellers into Eleia from central or southern Arkadia and beyond followed the course of the Alpheios, crossing the River Erymanthos into Eleian territory near the confluence of these streams (Figure 1.3). They could then either continue along the right bank of the Alpheios or take what appears to have been the more direct route, crossing the river as it made a northward turn about 10km downstream from its confluence with the Erymanthos and then re-crossing it just below its confluence with the Kladeos.<sup>14</sup> Those who used this route into Eleia might also cross the Alpheios just below the Erymanthos and, turning south-westward, pass between Mounts Lapithas and Minthe in order to enter Lepreatis.<sup>15</sup>

Visitors to Eleia often arrived from the Ionian Sea, where the shoreline consisted of three broad gulfs divided by two significant promontories. The Gulf of Kyllene began at Cape Araxos (Kalogria) in Akhaia and extended south-westward to the Khelonatas (Khlemoutsi) peninsula, the most westerly point of the Peloponnese (Figure 1.4).<sup>16</sup> From there a second gulf stretched to the now-submerged Cape Pheia and the adjacent Cape Ikhthys (Katakolo), and a third,



Figure 1.3 Looking eastward towards the confluence of the R. Erymanthos with the R. Alpheios from the present-day bridge over the Alpheios. Photo courtesy of the author.

the Gulf of Kyparissia, continued into Messenian territory. Both Eleian promontories, Khelonatas and Pheia/Ikthys, sheltered harbours. Ancient Kyllene was protected from the south by Khelonatas, as is its modern namesake.<sup>17</sup> The coastline near Ikthys, however, has changed considerably since ancient times. Today, a small bay two kilometres north of the port of Katakolo is shielded by the tiny Tigani Island, but before a catastrophic earthquake in the sixth century AD ‘the island and its southern shoals had protected the harbour of ancient Pheia’.<sup>18</sup> Tigani, it seems, is almost all that remains of a promontory which formed a harbour around 800m wide and 1,500m long, facing the south and offering excellent protection from the three remaining cardinal points of the compass.<sup>19</sup>

The mouth of the Alpheios seems to have provided a third harbour.<sup>20</sup> Kraft *et al.* conclude that the deposition of sediment from the Alpheios may have advanced the shoreline of the delta by around four kilometres since ancient times. Taita maintains, on the other hand, that earlier claims of traces of harbour facilities upstream from the present mouth have not been substantiated and that the conclusions of Kraft *et al.* are in fact dependent upon the speculations of nineteenth-century scholars.<sup>21</sup> Following instead a geomorphological study from the 1940s, she concludes that ‘the mouth of the Alpheios must . . . have lain at about the same place in antiquity in which it is found today’.<sup>22</sup> Taita’s arguments, nevertheless, are more convincing for the area to the north of the Alpheios than for that to its south, which may yet have been covered by the sea in ancient times. In this case, the present right bank of the lower four to five kilometres of the river





Figure 1.4 Looking eastward towards Cape Khelonatas and Khlemoutsí Castle from the Ionian Sea. Photo courtesy of the author.

would have constituted a south-facing coastline, and the mouth would still have been located, as Kraft *et al.* conclude, some kilometres inland from its current location, where it would have enjoyed considerable protection from the north.

The physical region of Eleia reached to the shores of the Ionian Sea in the west, the River Larisos in the north, the high mountains of Arkadia in the east and the northern slopes of Mount Lapithas, beyond which lay Lepreatis, in the south. The Eleians were not always able to dominate the district between the Alpheios and Mount Lapithas, however, and this river sometimes constituted their southern boundary. Whenever the communities of both this district and Lepreatis were politically associated with Eleia, on the other hand, the River Neda constituted the southern limit of the Eleian dominion. Strabo, writing around the beginning of the first century AD, divided this greater Eleia into three districts: ‘hollow Elis’ (the plain of the Peneios); ‘Pisatis’ (the Alpheios valley); and ‘Triphylia’ (between the Alpheios and the Neda).<sup>23</sup> Strabo’s tripartite division, however, rather than revealing enduring features of the landscape, reflects political developments of the Classical period: Thucydides is the earliest writer we know of to call the valley of the Peneios ‘hollow Elis’ and thus distinguish it from the rest of the region; only in the 360s BC do we first hear of a district called ‘Pisatis’; and ‘Triphylia’ is an invention of the turn of the fourth century BC.<sup>24</sup> A range of steep hills which ran generally parallel to the south bank of the Alpheios for part of its course presented no continuous barrier, and an unbroken stretch of coastal lowland ran from Akhaia in the north to the lower Alpheios



valley, finally narrowing into the pass between Mount Lapithas and the Ionian Sea in the south.<sup>25</sup> As a consequence, terms such as ‘Pisatis’ and ‘Triphylia’ will be introduced into this work only when it becomes appropriate to consider their political significance.

### The economy of the region

Compared to much of Greece, Eleia is particularly fertile and exceptionally well watered, offering abundant opportunities for pastoralism and horticulture.<sup>26</sup> Several passages from the Homeric epics suggest that pastoralism was widespread in the region during the Archaic period. In the *Odyssey*, Noëman tells the suitors in Ithake that he keeps broodmares with mule foals in Elis. Eumaios boasts that Odysseus has twelve herds of cattle, twelve of goats and twelve of hogs ‘on the mainland’ (ἐν ἡπείρῳ), and a cow and goats also arrive from there.<sup>27</sup> In a possibly early sixth-century BC sequel to the *Odyssey*, the hero ‘sails to Elis to inspect his herds’.<sup>28</sup> On the one occasion in the Homeric epics when Elis receives an epithet other than *Dios*, it is called ἵπποβότος (‘horse-pasturing’).<sup>29</sup> In Nestor’s narration in the *Iliad*, the Pylians seize from the inhabitants of Elis 50 herds of cattle and as many flocks of sheep, droves of swine and herds of goats, along with 150 mares, many with foals.<sup>30</sup> Apollodoros reports that the mythical king Augeas of Elis had



Figure 1.5 Some of the many animal figurine dedications held in the Olympia Museum. Photo courtesy of the author.

so many herds of cattle that their dung 'required no less than the hero Herakles and his super-human abilities in order for it to be removed'.<sup>31</sup> The thousands of animal figurine votives found at both Olympia and the site of the city of Elis from the eleventh to the seventh centuries BC (Figure 1.5), unparalleled at either Delphi or Dodona, are further evidence of 'the early importance of stock-rearing in the western Peloponnese'.<sup>32</sup>

Passages of Xenophon, Polybios and Livy demonstrate that pastoralism remained significant in Eleia during the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. Xenophon reports that after sacrificing at Olympia King Agis marched his Spartan and allied army towards the city of Elis, 'chopping and burning the land, and vast numbers of flocks and herds and vast numbers of slaves were seized from the countryside'. The invading army soon left the neighbourhood of the city, but continued to lay waste the country around the port of Kyllene, most likely cutting down vines and olive trees. It is the abundance of livestock, nevertheless, that Xenophon emphasises. Polybios in his account of Philip V's invasion of Eleia in the winter of 219–218 BC mentions only the seizure of moveable goods, cattle and slaves, though we must keep in mind that this event took place during the winter, when no crops would have been growing. In 208 BC, as Livy informs us, Philip again invaded Eleia, but spent just one day devastating the countryside before marching up to the city of Elis. Although repulsed by a combined force of Eleians, Aitolians and Romans, the Makedonians and their allies captured the neighbouring fortress of Pyrgos, along with 4,000 rural dwellers and 20,000 cattle. The seasonal plagues of flies mentioned by Pliny the Elder suggest that pastoralism continued into Roman times.<sup>33</sup>

The peach stones, olive and grape pips and nut shells found in what appears to have been a dining area around the western base of the Kronion at Olympia suggest these foods were produced locally,<sup>34</sup> and the accounts of Xenophon, Polybios and Livy indicate that grain crops, olives and vines were indeed grown. We do not, however, find reports in the ancient texts that the extensive, exceptionally well-watered and fertile plains and hills of Eleia were renowned for their wheat, oil or wine. The Eleian town of Bouprasion is described in the *Iliad* as 'rich in wheat', but this may only indicate that enough was grown to supply the local population.<sup>35</sup> Leake, describing early nineteenth-century Eleia, portrays a land blessed with the romantic charm engendered by a combination of a richly varied topography, the decayed reminders of its ancient glory and the extensive forests and pasturelands which covered much of the country. He reports, for example, that 'we cross the hill by a romantic rocky pass into the valley of Olympia . . . The pass is extremely beautiful, the sides of the hills being covered with pines in fine copses and clusters'.<sup>36</sup> Visiting the Peneios valley, Leake informs us that 'the greater part of this plain of Elis, once so renowned for its fertility, is now a desert; a little cultivation around a few villages being all that its present possessors have done to assist the prodigality of nature. Buffalos, sheep, and oxen enjoy the rest of the plain'.<sup>37</sup> In describing the plain as a 'desert', Leake simply meant that it was largely uncultivated and thinly populated or, as we might say, deserted.<sup>38</sup> There were about 300,000 sheep and goats in the administrative district around Gastouni

in the plain of the Peneios and about '150,000 more came from the mountainous parts of the neighbouring districts in winter'.<sup>39</sup>

Leake's journal, despite his insistence that much of the land was 'desert', shows that horticulture was not entirely absent from the valleys of the Peneios and the Alpheios in his time. Oranges were cultivated in the gardens of Gastouni (on the lower Peneios) and the land around this town produced flax, wheat, maize and other grain crops.<sup>40</sup> Maize was also grown on the Peneios to the east of the site of ancient Elis (Figure 1.6).<sup>41</sup> The hilly country around the Alpheios supplied wine and corn, a little oil and silk, and tar extracted from the pines.<sup>42</sup> Grain, along with cheese, butter, wool and honey, was exported from two ports near Pyrgos, to the north of the lower Alpheios valley.<sup>43</sup> Cotton and aniseed were also cultivated, and pine nuts were sent to the Ionian islands.<sup>44</sup> There were vineyards around Agoulénitza, and currants were grown between Gastouni and the site of ancient Elis.<sup>45</sup> While Leake regularly reminds us that only the land in the immediate vicinity of the towns and villages was devoted to horticulture, the ancient texts do not suggest that this was any less the case in the Archaic, Classical or Hellenistic periods. Leake's negative comparison of early nineteenth-century Eleia with the land of ancient times thus appears unwarranted, and the fertile hills and plains of the Peneios and the Alpheios seem no less devoted to horticulture during his time than in that depicted by Homer, Xenophon, Polybios or Livy. His characterisation of Eleia as largely pastoral in the early nineteenth century, rather than offering a contrast to conditions in ancient times, may thus suggest ways in which we might better understand them.



*Figure 1.6* A field of maize near the site of ancient Elis. Photo courtesy of the author.

Odysseus' twelve herds each of cattle, goats and hogs do not seem particularly significant when we consider that a herd is likely to have consisted of the number of animals one person could supervise at a time, perhaps around 60, and probably no more than 100.<sup>46</sup> On such figures, Nestor's famous raid on Elis would have yielded somewhat fewer than 2,000 animals. His father Neleus selected from these 300 sheep, an apparently significant number, along with their shepherds.<sup>47</sup> Even considering the likelihood that many households of lesser means kept smaller numbers of livestock,<sup>48</sup> the relevant passages in the Homeric epics thus suggest that the total number of animals in Eleia was much smaller than the 300,000 sheep and goats which Leake reports were permanently grazing in the lowlands of the Peneios valley at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that far less land was devoted to pasture. This need not imply, however, that more land was used for horticulture, nor that the symbiosis between horticulture and animal husbandry that appears characteristic of much of ancient Greece was necessarily a feature of the Archaic Eleian economy.<sup>49</sup> Aside from pasture, Leake's Eleia consisted largely of forests. The lower valley of the Alpheios was covered with pines, oaks stretched inland from northern Eleia into Arkadia and woods extended from the eastern extremity of Mount Lapithas westward to the coastal plain and northward to Mount Olonos.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps the region was even more thoroughly forested during the period depicted in the Homeric epics, when vast stands of pine and oak were interrupted only intermittently by the pastures which fed the herds of wealthy chieftains and less influential folk.

During the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods, the growth of the city of Elis and its ports must have brought increasing demand for horticultural products, and the people of the region most likely responded by producing more grain, olive oil, wine, fruit and vegetables. From at least the first century AD, flax of a variety capable of producing linen worth its weight in gold appears to have become an important crop,<sup>51</sup> and certain medicinal plants came from the region.<sup>52</sup> The pastoral industry, too, given the emphasis in the Classical and Hellenistic sources cited above on the presence of vast numbers of domesticated animals, must have continued to expand. The sanctuary of Olympia would have provided a profitable market for livestock, both for the regular sacrifices performed within the Altis and for those offered by visitors during the quadrennial festival.<sup>53</sup> In addition, as in the nineteenth century, the inhabitants of Eleia may have raised oxen to pull the plough in both their own and other regions of the Peloponnese.<sup>54</sup> As livestock numbers increased, so must the amount of land available for pasture, which also suggests an expanding forestry industry. Leake reports that timber from the pine nut trees of north-eastern Eleia 'is much esteemed for shipbuilding, but that of the more common *πεῦκος*, or *pinus maritima*, is more in use for that purpose'.<sup>55</sup> Timber planks, too, were exported from Kaiafa, south of the Alpheios, and oaks grew abundantly on Mount Pholoe.<sup>56</sup> A passage from Thucydides implies that the Eleians possessed a shipbuilding industry during the Classical period: in preparation for their campaign against the Kerkyraians in 434 BC, he reports, the Corinthians asked the Eleians for both money and unmanned ships.<sup>57</sup> The request for both of these items instead of money alone suggests that the Eleians were to build the ships rather than purchase them from elsewhere.

A consistent narrative of the development of the ancient Eleian rural economy emerges from the limited available evidence: increasing pastoralism accompanied by the clearing of forests to provide timber, with horticultural production expanding in response to the needs of a growing urban population. By the Roman Imperial period, the specialised cultivation of flax, used in textile production, also appears to have become significant. We should not be too quick, however, to characterise the ancient Eleian economy as entirely pastoral, sylvan and horticultural until the results of more thorough archaeological investigations are known.<sup>58</sup> Since Neolithic times, sediment from the Alpheios and Peneios rivers has been deposited along the Eleian shoreline to form marine barriers, coastal lagoons and peripheral marshes.<sup>59</sup> On the Gulf of Kyparissia these may have included the current Lake Kaiafa (Figure 1.7), the Agoulénitza Lagoon (drained for agriculture in the 1960s), the Mouria Lagoon (also drained) and what is now Lake Kasta.<sup>60</sup> There were also lagoons between Capes Ikthys and Khelonatas, and the Kotiki Lagoon further north is ‘indicative of, and a remnant of, a long line of lagoons behind the barrier accretion system’.<sup>61</sup> It would be surprising if these waters were not exploited in ancient times, as in the nineteenth century, for their marine resources, and there may have been coastal settlements in Eleia of which we are now unaware.<sup>62</sup> During the eighteenth century AD the inhabitants appear to have diverted the River Peneios so that it emptied into the sea to the south of the Khlemoutsí headland, rather than to the north as it had in ancient times. Since then, while the locality of the new mouth has seen increased sedimentary deposits, the shoreline to the north of Khlemoutsí has been subject to inundation from the sea and consequent coastal erosion.<sup>63</sup> Helladic to early



*Figure 1.7* Lake Kaiafa. Photo courtesy of the author.



modern sites around the present Peneios delta may have been buried under sediment deposited since the eighteenth century, and those north-east of the Khlemoutsi peninsula may now lie beneath the Ionian Sea.<sup>64</sup>

The inhabitants of these and the other communities of Eleia are likely to have used their primary produce to create manufactured goods, including ships, boats, furniture, wagons and carts,<sup>65</sup> smoked or salted fish and meat (perhaps using salt produced at the mouth of the Alpheios<sup>66</sup>), leather goods, textiles of wool and linen, ceramics and metalwork. Such goods would have been exported to both the interior of the Peloponnese and overseas. From the perspective of anyone accustomed to viewing the ancient Greek world from the Athenian akropolis, Eleia might seem a marginal region of Greece, but in some respects its position in the wider Hellenic world was a central one. Its harbours, Pheia in particular, were natural ports of call for ships sailing between the Aegean or the Eastern Mediterranean and the Adriatic, southern Italy, Sicily or further west. Many who had just either arrived on the shores of mainland Greece from the west or rounded the southern promontories of the Peloponnese must have chosen Pheia or Kyllene above ports in Messenia, the Ionian Islands or western Akhaia.

Goods produced in Eleia or arriving in the Eleian ports would have been transported throughout the region and into the interior of the Peloponnese. Smaller vessels setting out from Kyllene may have reached settlements along the Peneios, perhaps as far upstream as the site of the city of Elis, and a level road most likely followed the course of the Peneios across its broad floodplain until it reached the foot of the hills beyond, from where, as we have seen, a well-travelled route led further inland along the Ladon River and ascended into north-western Arkadia. From Pheia, similarly, people and goods could be transported, in some cases perhaps for the first part of the journey on smaller vessels via a harbour at the mouth of the Alpheios,<sup>67</sup> along the Alpheios valley and into central and south-western Arkadia. Through the Eleian ports, too, the produce of both Eleia itself and the neighbouring districts of Arkadia could reach the wider Mediterranean world.<sup>68</sup> The Eleians of the Classical period were clearly wealthy,<sup>69</sup> and it is likely that much of their moveable wealth was generated through trade and industry.

### **Epeians and Eleians**

Material remains of the Early Iron Age are relatively scarce in Eleia, so it has been suggested that the region was virtually unpopulated from Mycenaean times until the late eighth century BC.<sup>70</sup> The absence of evidence for settlement, however, does not entail that a territory must be declared *terra nullius*. As we have seen, much of Eleia was devoted to livestock-rearing and forestry, so the relative lack of human settlement remains in the region might be a result of the need for 'a frequent change of pasture and a way of life that was rarely stationary'.<sup>71</sup> It may also reflect the lack of sufficient stone suitable for building, which would have obliged the inhabitants to use less durable materials, such as timber and mud bricks.<sup>72</sup> The most significant factor, however, seems to be that few sites in the region have been thoroughly excavated, since those sites which

have seen systematic archaeological investigation, Olympia and the city of Elis, have revealed ample evidence of occupation.<sup>73</sup> A rescue excavation at Eleian Pylos has yielded Geometric sherds, and sub-Mycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric ceramics from graves have been found during agricultural work or road construction in the region, so it is likely that other sites yet to be excavated contain similar material.<sup>74</sup> We should also keep in mind that the simple pit and stone cistern or pithos graves of the 'Dark Age' would not be as conspicuous as the Mycenaean chamber tombs.<sup>75</sup> The remains of significant coastal settlements, furthermore, may now lie either submerged or buried by sedimentation.<sup>76</sup> Despite the occasional claim, as Eder concludes, 'Olympia during the Early Iron Age did not lie within a no-man's land.'<sup>77</sup>

In almost every passage of the Homeric corpus where they appear, the inhabitants of Elis are called 'Epeians', and 'Elis' in the epics indicates the region later known as 'Eleia'. In one instance, nevertheless, Nestor's narration in the *Iliad*, the people whose cattle Nestor and his companions raid are referred to as 'Eleians', and in the subsequent fighting Nestor makes it clear that the man he kills with a javelin, Itymoneus, lived ἐν Ἡλίδι ('in Elis').<sup>78</sup> If we were to take the appearance of 'Eleians' in the text in place of 'Epeians' to imply that the 'Elis' where Itymoneus lived was a settlement whose inhabitants constituted a subsection of the Epeians, we would have reason to suspect that an urban centre of that name existed by at least the time when the *Iliad* was written down. A more compelling conclusion, however, may be drawn from this passage of Homer. At some moment in the development of the text of the *Iliad*, a poet or scribe, aware that 'Epeians' was the correct Homeric term but influenced by contemporary usage, may have substituted *Eleioi* for *Epeioi*, a change which could easily have escaped notice, since the metre of the poetry would have remained unaffected. This explanation is more acceptable when we consider that Itymoneus' troops are described as 'rustics', so they do not seem to have inhabited an urban centre.<sup>79</sup> Those 'in Elis' who owe debts to the Pylians are soon, as usual, called 'Epeians', and it is clear that the people of the region as a whole, rather than just a portion of them, comprise the enemy which had earlier been referred to as 'the Eleians'.<sup>80</sup> The appearance of the term 'Eleians' in the Homeric text need not indicate that a people of that name existed in Mycenaean times, nor that there was an urban centre called 'Elis' either then or at the time when the epics were written down. It suggests instead that the term 'Eleians', although out of place in respect to the Mycenaean period, was already in use early in the Archaic. We can find no secure evidence in the epics for the existence by the Archaic period of an urban centre called 'Elis', but we can surmise that by the time the *Iliad* was written down the ethnogenesis of a people called 'the Eleians' had already taken place.<sup>81</sup>

In certain inscriptions from Olympia and on the serpent column at Delphi which commemorated the victory of the Spartans and their allies over the Persians led by Xerxes, we find mention of a people called FAΛEIOI (*WALEIOI*).<sup>82</sup> *Φαλεῖοι* (*Waleioi*) is derived from *Φᾱλῖς* (*Walis*), an earlier form of Elis. This word takes the forms *Ἥλις* (*Halis*) in the local dialect of the Classical period, by which time the digamma (F in the Greek script, transliterated here as *W*) had dropped out,

and Ἑλῖς (*Elis*) in the Attic dialect.<sup>83</sup> In the Eleian dialect this name, related to the Latin *vallis*, means ‘valley’. The *Eleioi*, originally the *Waleioi*, are thus the ‘valley people’, and Eleia is ‘the land of the valley people’.<sup>84</sup> The name *Eleioi*, perhaps, was first used in the Archaic period to distinguish the dwellers in the lowland valleys of the Peneios and Alpheios from the *Akroreioi*, the ‘mountain people’ of Mount Pholoe,<sup>85</sup> or even from the inhabitants of the hills which divided the Peneios and Alpheios valleys.

### **Aitolians and Aioliens**

Certain ancient texts suggest that the Eleians, at least by the beginning of the Classical period, were considered ethnically ‘Aitolian’, a description otherwise applied to a people across the sea to the north, in the western part of central Greece. Pindar, in an ode for an Olympic victory won in 476 BC, calls the *hellanodikas* whose responsibility it was to crown the victors at Olympia ‘Aitolian’, and Bakchylides speaks of ‘the wreaths of Aitolian olive’ won by Olympic victors.<sup>86</sup> Herodotos informs us that while the Dorians had many considerable *poleis* in the Peloponnese, the Aitolians had only one, Elis.<sup>87</sup> This association of Elis and Olympia with the Aitolians also appears in various mytho-historical narratives. Apollodoros reports a myth in which the progeny of Herakles, seeking to return to the Peloponnese two generations after the Trojan War, are instructed by an oracle to take the three-eyed one as their guide. Encountering a certain Oxylos, who had taken refuge in Elis for a year, riding a one-eyed horse on his way back to Aitolia, they guess the meaning of the oracle and engage his services. They then go on to conquer their enemies in the Peloponnese, drawing lots among themselves for the territories of Argos, Sparta and Messenia.<sup>88</sup>

According to Strabo, certain Aitolians returned to the Peloponnese with Oxylos in the company of the Herakleids and, on account of their ancient kinship, lived together with the previous inhabitants, the Epeians, increasing the size of ‘hollow Elis’ and taking control of much of Pisatis, including Olympia.<sup>89</sup> Citing the fourth-century BC Ephoros, Strabo provides further details of a myth of the return of Oxylos and the Aitolians to Eleia in which Oxylos’ progenitor Aitolos, driven out of Eleia by King Salmoneus, flees to Aitolia and gives his name to the region. Aitolos’ descendant Oxylos later guides the Herakleids back to the Peloponnese, allotting a part of it to each of them and providing strategic advice. For these services he is permitted to return to his ancestral land, Elis. Oxylos, as a result, raises an army against the Epeians, but the forces are evenly matched, so a contest is arranged between two champions. The victory goes to the Aitolian contestant, the Epeians are driven out and the Aitolians take possession of the land, including the supervision of the sanctuary at Olympia.<sup>90</sup> Strabo also records epigraphic evidence presented by Ephoros to support his claim concerning the Aitolians and Eleians that ‘each people was a founder of the other’. Ephoros had explained that while Aitolos conquered Aitolia from Elis, ten generations later his descendant Oxylos crossed over from Aitolia and settled Elis.<sup>91</sup>



Pausanias informs us that the Eleians crossed over from Kalydon and the rest of Aitolia and that the half-blind Oxylos was engaged by the Herakleids to lead their return to the Peloponnese. In his report, Oxylos, a descendant of Aitolos, takes the Herakleids and their Dorian followers across the Korinthian Gulf and through Arkadia, thus turning their gaze away from Eleia, which he receives in return for his services. After a battle between two champions, as in Strabo, Oxylos takes possession of the kingdom. Pausanias records, in addition, as also implied by Strabo in the first passage referred to above, where he does not acknowledge Ephoros as his source, that Oxylos introduced Aitolian settlers but allowed the Epeians to remain.<sup>92</sup>

The myth of Oxylos' arrival in Elis from Aitolia may pre-date that of the return of the Herakleids to the Peloponnese, which appears to have been developed in the third quarter of the seventh century.<sup>93</sup> The tale of Aitolos' earlier expulsion from Elis and migration to Aitolia, on the other hand, seems to have a later origin, and has often been seen in the context of Aitolian support for Elis during the Eleian War c.400 BC.<sup>94</sup> As Roy points out, the claim to autochthony found in the inscription from Elis reported by Ephoros does not appear in Herodotos and need not come from any earlier than the fourth century BC.<sup>95</sup> The myth of Oxylos' Epeian descent, however, may yet have been developed before that time. Two earlier sources, when considered together, suggest that it was already current in the sixth century: in a fragment of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, Aitolos is the son of Endymion; and in Ibykos, Endymion is king of Elis.<sup>96</sup> While the tale of Oxylos' arrival in Elis from Aitolia dates from at least the first half of the seventh century and may reflect the earlier immigration of some elements of the population from north-western Greece, the myth of Oxylos' Eleian descent through Aitolos was circulating by the sixth century.<sup>97</sup> The latter myth is likely to pre-date Hesiod, whose sixth-century work incorporates pre-existing local myths into the family tree of Hellen, and may thus have arisen in association with the ethnogenesis of the Eleians at some earlier time.<sup>98</sup>

The question of whether or not the historical Eleians and Aitolians shared a particular linguistic affinity has absorbed considerable scholarly effort. Buck, Kiechle, Thomson and Palmer have all seen similarities between Eleian and Aitolian.<sup>99</sup> Thumb, Bechtel and Grainger, however, include Aitolian but not Eleian among the Northwest Greek dialects.<sup>100</sup> Minon, most recently, finding that Eleian has similarities with both the Doric of the Peloponnese and the various dialects of north-western Greece, ascribes this phenomenon to the presumed origin of the ancestors of the historical Peloponnesians in northern Greece, but does not attempt to demonstrate any particular affinity between Eleian and Aitolian.<sup>101</sup> The reluctance of some scholars to classify Aitolian and Eleian together can easily be understood. As Hall observes, 'structural correspondences between dialects . . . may have resulted from a far more complicated series of linguistic processes than mere descent from a common proto-dialect.'<sup>102</sup> Eleian may thus have become differentiated in some respects from Aitolian in response to contact with neighbouring dialects such as Doric and Arkadian, even though the two were

originally similar. While two of the names of the months in the Eleian calendar seem to have been derived from those of local divinities, the remainder originated in Aitolia.<sup>103</sup> The titles of two significant Olympic magistracies, the *diatater* (who judged the Olympic competitions before the office of *hellanodikas* was instituted) and the *theokolos*, too, appear to have north-western origins.<sup>104</sup> The linguistic evidence thus tends to suggest that an element of the historical Eleians indeed originated in Aitolia. There may also, of course, have been cultural similarities in such areas as dress, diet and musical traditions which Herodotos regularly observed but felt no need to record because they were obvious to his audience.

Topography offers further support for the belief that people had once moved between Aitolia and Eleia, since the distance by sea from one region to the other is quite short. An Early Iron Age grave at Keramidia, south-east of Elis, containing an *amphoriskos* similar to one from Delphi, suggests at least some contact between Elis and the regions north of the Korinthian Gulf.<sup>105</sup> Archaeological finds at the sites of both Elis and Olympia are also in keeping with the view that one or more Aitolian chieftains led new settlers into Eleia during the period following the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces, and changes in local settlement patterns in the region at the end of Late Helladic IIIC (around 1060 BC) 'may be understood in connection with the traditional immigration of the Aitolians'.<sup>106</sup> The establishment of a cult at Olympia in the eleventh century, in addition, could be connected with the tradition of immigration from Aitolia after the collapse of the Mycenaean world.<sup>107</sup> The newcomers are unlikely to have completely displaced the original inhabitants, however, since Early Iron Age ceramics from Olympia and its vicinity maintained late Mycenaean traditions.<sup>108</sup>

The Aitolians appear to have provided at least one of the region's elite families, the Oxylids, whose eponymous hero was Oxylos. From the members of this clan, the judge of the Olympic competitions was originally chosen. By the time Pindar and Bakkhylides were writing, this Oxylid *diatater* had been replaced by the *hellanodikas*.<sup>109</sup> As a bearer of the office once held by the Oxylids, however, the *hellanodikas* and the wreath he placed upon the heads of the Olympic victors might still be poetically described as 'Aitolian'. The myths built up around the figure of Oxylos appear to have formed the basis of the claim to Aitolian ethnicity which the Eleians later emphasised and embellished whenever they relied upon Aitolian support, and as late as Pausanias' day the Eleians poured libations to all the heroes who were honoured both in Eleia and among the Aitolians.<sup>110</sup> Even though the historical Eleians need not have been exclusively or even largely Aitolian in origin, it remains likely that immigrants from Aitolia settled in Eleia early in the Iron Age, ultimately mixing with much of the existing population to form the new *ethnos* of the *Eleioi*.<sup>111</sup>

Some scholars have discerned signs of an Aiolian, in addition to an Aitolian, element in the Eleian dialect. Buck suggests that this element reflects features picked up by the Aitolians, speakers of Northwest Greek, when they invaded the region which later took their name.<sup>112</sup> Kiechle, on the other hand, sees such an element as evidence of a pre-Aitolian component in the population of the

Alpheios valley.<sup>113</sup> Striano, doubting both these theories, finds that 'only the presence of the initial aspiration mark in two inscriptions of our corpus . . . could possibly be assignable to a supposed sub-dialect',<sup>114</sup> and Siewert points out that an inscribed decree found at Mázi (now Skillountia), four kilometres south of the Alpheios, shows that 'an essentially uniform Northwest Greek dialect' was spoken from the Peneios valley down to the left bank of the Alpheios.<sup>115</sup> 'The carriers of the Northwest Greek dialect,' Siewert concludes, 'must therefore have been successful in the acquisition of land in the Peloponnese in the entire lower Alpheios area and have reached as far as the mountain border of the Lapithos.'<sup>116</sup> If any Aiolian element did exist in the inscriptions from Olympia, whatever its origin, it was not restricted to the Alpheios valley and was instead 'a phenomenon of the Eleian dialect'.<sup>117</sup>

The two documents which Striano points out contain the only features that might be assigned to a sub-dialect are also singled out by Siewert, who observes that compared to the Eleian dialect they 'reveal other dialectal features, such as the spelling of h-sounds and the lack of rhotacism'.<sup>118</sup> One of these two inscriptions, from the first quarter of the fifth century BC, was found in the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Kombothekra, on a peak of Lapithas accessible from both the north and south.<sup>119</sup> The other, dated to the second quarter of the fifth century BC, appears to come from Lepreon, in the region between Mount Lapithas and the River Neda.<sup>120</sup> A more recently published inscription from Prasadáki, near Lepreon, also displays forms that differ from Eleian. All of these inscriptions come from places either on or to the south of Mount Lapithas, which we have seen constitutes a significant topographical barrier between the Alpheios basin and the lands beyond. None of them, as Ruggeri concludes, is evidence of a separate linguistic region on the Alpheios, where 'the same dialect that we know from the Eleian inscriptions was used'.<sup>121</sup> To the south of the Lapithas range 'a different dialect is attested'.<sup>122</sup> Herodotos describes six towns, all located between the Alpheios and the Neda, as 'Minyan': Lepreon, Makiston, Phrixa, Pyrgos, Epeion and Noudion. The Minyans, arriving via Lakonia, had driven out the previous inhabitants, the Paroreatans (who lived on Lapithas) and Kaukonians.<sup>123</sup> These conquerors were reputedly descended from the Argonauts, so they would have been considered Aiolian.<sup>124</sup> Though it remains uncertain how helpful the myth recorded by Herodotos might be for explaining its provenance, the non-Eleian elements in the inscriptions from Lapithas and further south may reveal the existence there of an originally Aiolian-speaking element.<sup>125</sup>

The literary, epigraphic, topographical and archaeological evidence that we have points to the conclusion that the Eleians of the historical period, who inhabited the districts from the southern bank of the River Larisos down to the Alpheios valley, were descended from two earlier groups: the remnants of the Mycenaean population; and immigrants from Aitolia. While the members of the Eleian communities of both valleys considered themselves ethnically Aitolian, it appears, certain other peoples of the region of 'greater' Eleia maintained separate identities.

## Notes

- 1 Shipley 2006, 43; this volume, pp. 220–5.
- 2 Paus. 4.36.7. Toponyms given here are those used in ancient times. Alternatives in use either now or at some intervening period are given in brackets when a name first appears in the text.
- 3 Cf. Roy 2010, 57–9.
- 4 Leake 1830 I, 51.
- 5 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25; Leake 1830 I, 49.
- 6 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23; Livy 27.31.9; Strabo 8.7.5; Plut. *Philop.* 7.6; Paus. 6.26.10; 7.17.5.
- 7 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23–4; Diod. 14.17.12; Livy 27.31.9.
- 8 Leake 1830 II, 159, 166.
- 9 Roy 2000, 133.
- 10 Leake 1830 II, 201.
- 11 This Eleian River Ladon should be distinguished from the Arkadian River Ladon, a tributary of the Alpheios.
- 12 Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.10; Strabo 8.3.1, 5, 32; Paus. 8.24.4.
- 13 Strabo 8.3.5; Leake 1830 I, 25; Roy 2000, 133.
- 14 This volume, pp. 111–12.
- 15 Pritchett 1989, 58; Roy 2000, 133; this volume, p. 224.
- 16 Strabo 8.2.1, 3.4.
- 17 *AR* 2006/07, 42–3; 2008/09, 38–9.
- 18 Kraft *et al.* 2005, 26–7; Thuc. 2.25.4; 7.31.1; Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.31; Polyb. 4.9.9; Strabo 8.3.12.
- 19 Leake 1830 I, 45–7; Kraft *et al.* 2005, 22. Leake (1830 I, 46; 1830 II, 168, 174) also mentions a port at Kunupéli near the Kotiki Lagoon, but no remains of an ancient harbour have been found there. Gehrke 1986, 103, characterising the Eleian coastline as ‘very poor in harbours’ mentions only Kyllene, and even this, he claims, could be used only by small fleets. During the Arkhidamian War, however, a significant Peloponnesian fleet was based there: this volume, p. 124.
- 20 Leake 1830 I, 45; Taita 2013, 350–1.
- 21 Kraft *et al.* 2005, 21–2, 34, cf. 6 (Fig. 2), 9; Taita 2013, 356–60.
- 22 Taita 2013, 367, cf. 361–6.
- 23 Strabo 8.3.2–3.
- 24 Thuc. 5.34.1; Nielsen 1997, 133–44; cf. Roy 2000, 144.
- 25 Leake 1830 I, 21; Philippson 1892, 299; 1959, 344; Kōiv 2013, 325.
- 26 Gehrke 1986, 103.
- 27 *Od.* 4.630–7; 14.100–8; 20.185–8; cf. Johnston 1941, 273.
- 28 Eugammon of Kyrene *Telegony* fr. 1; Evelyn-White 1974, xxix–xxx, 530–2.
- 29 *Od.* 21.347.
- 30 *Il.* 11.671–81.
- 31 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 18; Apollod. *Lib.* 2.5.5; cf. Paus. 5.1.9–10; 11.11.6; Philostr. *Life of Apollonios* 8.7.
- 32 Morgan 1990, 91; this volume, p. 35. Delphi: Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 17–18. Dodona: pers. obs. Archaeological Museum of Ioannina, Sept. 2013; cf. Siewert 2001, 245–52.
- 33 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26–7; Polyb. 4.73.2–6, 75.1–8; Livy 27.31.9–32.11; Pliny the Elder *NH* 10.40.75; this volume, p. 231.
- 34 *AR* 1991/92, 24.
- 35 *Il.* 11.756; cf. Strabo 8.3.10. Strabo 8.3.15 informs us that diseases prevented crops being grown in the district to the south of the Alpheios, but otherwise says nothing about the Eleian economy.
- 36 Leake 1830 I, 25, cf. 4.

- 37 Leake 1830 I, 2; cf. 1830 II, 154, 167, 168, 219, 227.
- 38 Cf. Leake 1830 II, 174.
- 39 Leake 1830 I, 19–20.
- 40 Leake 1830 I, 2, 12, 14; 1830 II, 170; 1846, 8; cf. Paus. 5.5.2; 6.26.6.
- 41 Leake 1830 II, 227.
- 42 Leake 1830 I, 3.
- 43 Leake 1830 I, 46.
- 44 Leake 1830 I, 13; 1830 II, 165.
- 45 Leake 1830 I, 50, 219.
- 46 Hodgkinson 1988, 63–4.
- 47 *Il.* 11.696–7.
- 48 Hodgkinson 1988, 59–61.
- 49 Hodgkinson 1988, 38–50.
- 50 Leake 1830 I, 3, 23–5, 32, 50; 1830 II, 86, 232, 234, 239, 244; 1846, 8.
- 51 Pliny the Elder *NH* 19.4.20; Paus. 5.5.2, 14.3; 6.22.1, 26.6; cf. Roy 2008, 269.
- 52 Pliny the Elder *NH* 21.19.42; 25.30.67.
- 53 Paus. 5.14.4–15.12.
- 54 Leake 1830 I, 20.
- 55 Leake 1830 II, 165.
- 56 Leake 1830 I, 50–1; Frazer in Pritchett 1989, 33.
- 57 Thuc. 1.27.2.
- 58 Gehrke 1986, 103–4, for example, characterises it in this way.
- 59 Kraft *et al.* 2005, 1–10.
- 60 Kraft *et al.* 2005, 11–25, 33; cf. Leake 1830 I, 22, 45, 50–4.
- 61 Kraft *et al.* 2005, 10, 29–32, 34.
- 62 Leake 1830 I, 11, 45–6; 1830 II, 165, 168; Kraft *et al.* 2005, 1–40.
- 63 Kraft *et al.* 2005, 10, 28–30, 34; cf. Leake 1830 I, 1.
- 64 Kraft *et al.* 2005, 34–5, cf. 2.
- 65 Pliny the Elder *NH*, 16.13.33, 19.48, cf. 43–47.
- 66 Leake 1830 I, 47; cf. Roy 2008, 269.
- 67 Pliny *NH* 4.6.14; Taita 2013, 350–77; this volume, pp. 9–10.
- 68 Cf. Roy 2000, 133.
- 69 Thuc. 1.27.2; Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.3–5, 12–20.
- 70 Morgan 1990, 21, 29, 49, 56, 63–4, 192.
- 71 Siewert 2001, 247.
- 72 Leake 1830 I, 2; cf. Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991, 321.
- 73 Morgan and Coulton 1997, 113–14; Eder 2001, 235–6, 241–2 and n.15.
- 74 Coleman 1986, 5–6, 18–33; Inglis 1998, 53 n.90; Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 14–19, 24.
- 75 Eder 2001, 235–6.
- 76 This volume, pp. 15–16.
- 77 Eder 2001, 241–2 and n.15.
- 78 *Il.* 11.671; cf. Hainsworth 1993, 298–9. We hear of the Epeians at *Il.* 2.619, 11.688, 694; 732; 737; 744; *Od.* 13.275; 15.298; 24.431; *Hymn to Apollo* 425.
- 79 *Il.* 11.676: ἀγροῖωται.
- 80 *Il.* 11.688.
- 81 Cf. Gehrke 2005, 28.
- 82 *IGA* 70.26; Minon 5 = *NIO* 2; Minon 10 = *IvO* 9; Minon 16 = *NIO* 5A; Minon 18 = *IvO* 14; Minon 20 = *IvO* 2.
- 83 Aside from the dialectal use of *alpha* where *eta* is found in the Attic and other dialects, these changes seem to reflect a regular phonological transition.
- 84 Swoboda 1905, 2380–1; Gschnitzer 1954, 60; Lafond 1997, 994; Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 4; Gehrke 2005, 25. An alternative etymology offered in

- some ancient texts, which derives the name ‘Elis’ from the verb ἀλιζω, appears speculative: Leandros *FGrH* 492 F 13, *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἑλις; Eust. *Parekbolai* 409, Müller 1965, 292.38–43.
- 85 Nafissi 2003, 40.
  - 86 Pind. *Ol.* 3.12; Bakkhyl. 8.28–29, undated: McDevitt 2009, 148.
  - 87 Hdt. 8.73.2.
  - 88 Apollod. *Lib.* 2.8.3–4.
  - 89 Strabo 8.3.30; cf. Tzetz. *Khiliades* 12.368–369. On this claim of Strabo, this volume, p. 60.
  - 90 Strabo 8.3.33, cf. 8.5; 9.3.12; 10.3.2; Eph. *FGrH* 70 F 115; Siewert 1994, 258–9 and n.6; Inglis 1998, 51–2. At 8.1.2 Strabo says the Eleians belonged to the Aiolic tribe, but apparently only on the grounds that Aitolos was a grandson of Aiolos. At 8.3.9, he seems to believe that the Epeians conquered and merged with ‘the Eleians’, but these pre-Epeian and thus pre-Homeric Eleians are clearly creatures of myth.
  - 91 Strabo 10.3.2–3; cf. Skymnos 437–77.
  - 92 Paus. 5.1.3, 3.5–4.2.
  - 93 Gehrke 2005, 29–30.
  - 94 Diod. 14.17.9–10.
  - 95 Strabo 10.3.2; Roy 2014, 248–9; 2015, 153–4.
  - 96 Ps.-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* 10.58–63 in Most 2007; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4.57–8 in Wendel 1958.
  - 97 Gehrke 2005, 29–33; cf. West 1985, 136–7, 141–3, 166; Taita 2000, 159–61, 168–71.
  - 98 West 1985, 137–8, 166. Doubts about the veracity of reports in some ancient texts concerning a supposed early sixth-century conflict between the Eleians and Pisatans for control of Olympia make it unlikely that, as Taita 2000, 171–2 claims, such a conflict provided the context for the appearance of this myth: this volume, Chs. 3, 4.
  - 99 Buck 1955, xii, 155–60; Kiechle 1960, 365; Thomson 1960, 32; Palmer 1980, 73; cf. Osborne 1996, 36; Gehrke 2005, 34.
  - 100 Thumb 1932, xv–xvi, 235–351, 299–311; Bechtel 1963, vii, 3–161, 827–66; Grainger 1999, 29–30.
  - 101 Minon II, 628–9; cf. Colvin 2007.
  - 102 Hall 1997, 170, cf. 143–81.
  - 103 Taita 2000, 164–5.
  - 104 Taita 2000, 165–6.
  - 105 Eder 2001, 239; cf. Taita 2000, 163–4.
  - 106 Eder 2001, 243.
  - 107 Kyrieleis 2002, 220; Taita 2007, 83–4.
  - 108 Eder 2001, 241–2; Kyrieleis 2002, 216; Taita 2007, 84.
  - 109 Paus. 5.9.4.
  - 110 Gehrke 2005, 33; this volume pp. 158, 211–14; Paus. 5.15.12.
  - 111 Cf. Gehrke 2005, 45.
  - 112 Buck 1955, 5–6.
  - 113 Kiechle 1960, 363–6.
  - 114 Striano 1991, 140–2; cf. Palmer 1980, 74; Ruggeri 2004, 87–8.
  - 115 Siewert 1994, 258–9; cf. 1987, 275–7; Nielsen 1997, 149; Minon 28; *SEG* 30.422; 35.389.
  - 116 Siewert 1987, 276.
  - 117 Möller 2004, 262.
  - 118 Siewert 1987, 275–6; cf. Ruggeri 2004, 89.
  - 119 *SEG* 31.356; *LSAG* 450.B; Taita 2007, 96–8.
  - 120 *SEG* 15.253; *LSAG* 220.14.
  - 121 *SEG* 49.489; Ruggeri 2004, 90.
  - 122 Ruggeri 2004, 92.
  - 123 Hdt. 4.148.4; Strabo 8.3.16–18.

- 124 Hdt. 4.145.3; Strabo 8.3.19; Buck 1955, 5. Tausend 1992, 20–1 suggests that the Minyans may have originated in a border area of Boiotia.
- 125 Not all of the places described by Herodotos as Minyan seem to have retained this dialect, however, as suggested by the fourth-century BC decree discussed above from Mazi/Skillountia, identified as the site of ancient Makiston.

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## 2 Communities and sanctuaries

### The site of the city of Elis during the Archaic period

The site of the city of Elis was occupied long before the synoikism of 471 BC.<sup>1</sup> Chamber tombs indicate habitation during the fourth and early third millennia BC.<sup>2</sup> Graves scattered across the site in post-Mycenaean times suggest that during the sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods this location was home to a community consisting of a small number of families, perhaps as few as three or four in number.<sup>3</sup> The placement of the graves implies that a path ran parallel to the Peneios River through the settlement area.<sup>4</sup> This community, however, appears to have gone into decline after the tenth century BC, since only one *kantharos* dated to the ninth century provides evidence that the area was not entirely abandoned.<sup>5</sup> The provenance of another find, the bronze statuette of a bull like those found in Olympia from the ninth to the early eighth century, is uncertain.<sup>6</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon suggest that grave and settlement remains from the ninth century may yet be discovered and that traces of the older settlement may have been partly destroyed when the city centre was extended in later periods, and so conclude that there was probably continuous settlement at the site from the eleventh century BC.<sup>7</sup> The finds, however, do not quite support this conclusion, since very little indeed has been unearthed from between the tenth century and Late Geometric II, a period of around two centuries.

Further finds make it clear, nevertheless, that the site was continuously occupied from early in the Archaic period. Four pithos burials excavated at the west cemetery of Elis, near Kalyvia, suggest occupation from the late eighth or early seventh century BC.<sup>8</sup> A small bronze Geometric horse matches examples from Olympia dated to the third quarter of the eighth century, a wheel-shaped disc of bronze is at least as old, and bronze beads seem to come from the eighth to seventh centuries. Ceramics and small finds from the Late Geometric II period (720–680 BC) have also been discovered, including the fragmentary remains of a *krater* and a *kantharos*, along with further ceramic fragments. A lion-shaped handle from a large bronze cauldron comes from around the middle of the sixth century, and a vase-shaped pendant from late in the sixth or very early in the fifth. The oldest architectural members found at the site are leaf-bar terracotta simas, characteristic of the Archaic period and similar to one from Olympia

dated 580–560 BC. Additional fragments which have features in common with those from the Megarian treasury at Olympia and with others found at Pheia can be dated to around 500. These remains could possibly belong to a small, temple-like building excavated in the southern part of the *agora*.<sup>9</sup>

The small Geometric and Archaic finds are concentrated in two areas. At the site of the Hellenistic theatre, they indicate either residences or cemeteries of the end of the eighth and early part of the seventh century. In the southern portion of the later *agora*, one grave (the find-place of the *kantharos* mentioned above) has been found from the ninth century BC and another from either the eighth or seventh century, along with a fragment of a leaf-bar sima and the remains of a propylon north of the temple-like building. From nearby come a Protogeometric pin, the horse statuette mentioned above, two fragments of the late Archaic building and an Archaic bronze inscription (discussed below).<sup>10</sup> Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon cautiously suggest that the inscription and architectural members from the southern part of the later *agora* appear to point to official functions of the sixth to early fifth centuries BC and to indicate the location of an Archaic *agora*. 'By comparison with other Archaic settlements of Greece,' they conclude, 'one can imagine small, scattered settlement units with accompanying burial places. Some few, prestigious buildings with administrative and religious functions probably stood on a central space which served as a political meeting place, a market and a judicial venue.'<sup>11</sup> There is little doubt that in the sixth century BC this was the site of a community with a political, religious and legal centre, though it is difficult to judge its significance in comparison with other Archaic communities of the region, since so few have been excavated.

The expression 'Elis' in the Homeric corpus seems always to have denoted a region rather than a town or city.<sup>12</sup> In three odes of Pindar from the 470s and 460s BC, similarly, we find the dialectal form *Alis*, but in each case the poet clearly has the region rather than a city in mind.<sup>13</sup> In Herodotos, the deposed Spartan king Damaratos travels to Elis on pretence of heading for Delphi to consult the oracle, but since he crosses over from there to Zakynthos, the region rather than the inland city seems to have been meant.<sup>14</sup> In a further passage, Herodotos uses the term 'Elis' once again, but this time to describe the Eleian *polis* in the political sense.<sup>15</sup> There is thus no secure evidence in the ancient texts of this expression having been used in the Archaic or even in the early Classical period as the name of an urban settlement. Although five inscriptions from Olympia dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC indicate that 'the Eleians' dedicated certain bronze items to Zeus Olympios,<sup>16</sup> they do not oblige us to conclude that the dedicants came from a single settlement called 'Elis'. Instead, they may be seen as support for the suggestion that by the time the *Iliad* was written down a distinct Eleian *ethnos* had come into being which included the inhabitants of various communities in the Peneios and Alpheios valleys.<sup>17</sup>

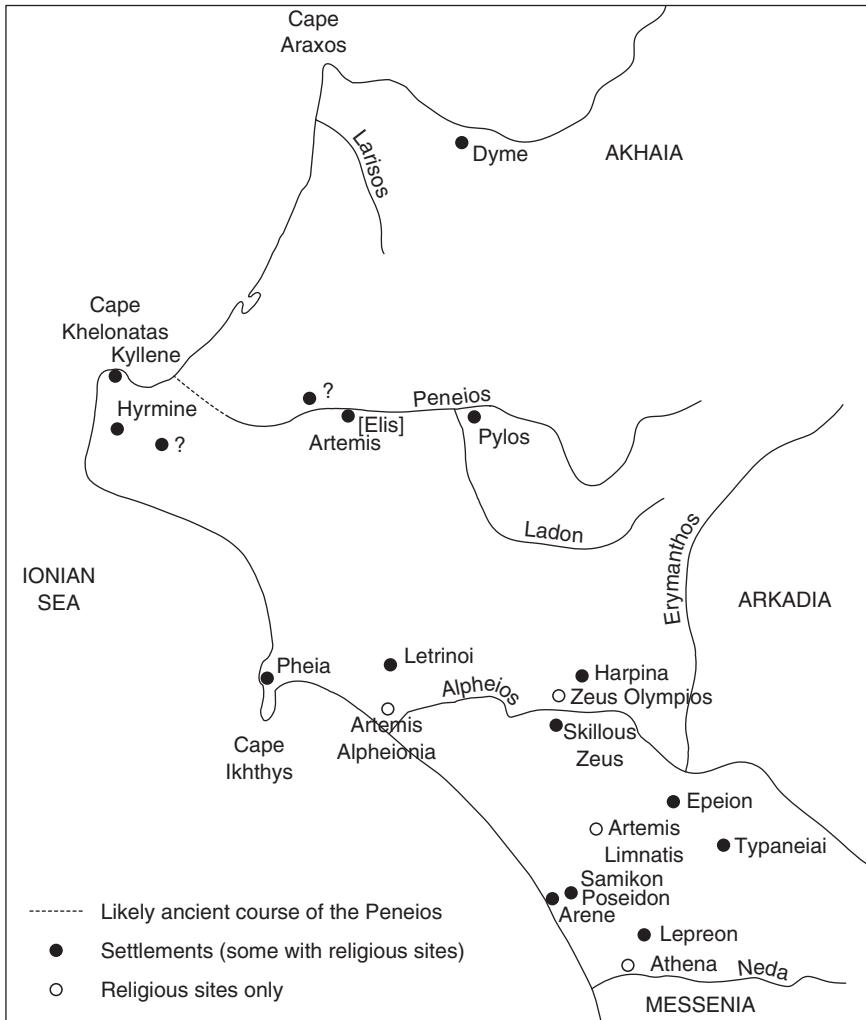
The small inscribed bronze plaque mentioned above, found in the southern part of the *agora* at the site of Elis, has been dated to the first half of the sixth century BC.<sup>18</sup> The plaque, bearing a legal document, appears to have been

displayed with votive offerings in the small temple in the southern part of the *agora*.<sup>19</sup> Siewert concludes from this find that by the early sixth century 'Elis' had already become 'a central place of the Eleian state community and a publication place for its legal records'.<sup>20</sup> One highly significant fact, however, simply cannot be ignored: the plaque mentions neither 'Elis' nor 'the Eleians', and we could well be dealing here with a decree issued by what constituted in the sixth century just one of a number of distinct Eleian settlements. Apart from Olympia, Elis and Eleian Pylos are the only two sites in the region which have been extensively excavated, so the community located beside the Peneios need not have been the only political entity of the Eleians issuing such decrees at the time. The discovery of this one bronze plaque certainly does not suffice to prove that the settlement at the site of Elis was the political or legal centre of an Eleian polity during the Archaic period. As Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon conclude, 'the Eleians enter the light of history as a community, and there is no mention of a city of Elis.'<sup>21</sup> The likelihood that the Eleians inhabited a region rather than a single city, they point out, 'offers an explanation for the fact that within the community of the Eleians no single settlement is emphasised and the city of Elis is not mentioned in the early sources'.<sup>22</sup>

### **The communities of Archaic Eleia**

In order to determine the extent to which an abundance of settlements existed in greater Eleia during the period before the synoikism of 471 BC, we need to consider both archaeological discoveries and ancient literary sources. Each of these kinds of evidence, however, presents its own difficulties. Almost all the excavation in the region has been carried out in Olympia and at the site of Elis, so relatively little attention has been given to the many other sites where significant Archaic material may yet be discovered, and the remains of some settlements may now lie buried by sediment or submerged beneath the sea.<sup>23</sup> In regard to the literary evidence, although certain settlements known to have existed in the Classical or later periods are also named in myths which purport to refer to an earlier time, such stories were often developed in response to contemporary circumstances, so mythology alone is not secure evidence of the early existence of any particular settlement. No matter how far back in the mists of mytho-history a town or city has been placed by writers such as Apollodoros, Strabo or Pausanias, we must remain cautious about assuming its existence in the Archaic period. As a result, this discussion will begin with the existing archaeological evidence for substantial settlements, considering (where evidence exists) which sites might reasonably be identified with particular toponyms known from the ancient texts (Map 2.1).<sup>24</sup>

A cemetery at Staphidokambos (2km north of the Peneios) that was in use from the late sixth to late fourth centuries BC seems to indicate an unidentified settlement.<sup>25</sup> Archaic material, as noted above, has been found at the site of the Classical and later city of Elis. Finds from near the junction of the Peneios and the Ladon dating from the Middle Bronze Age, including Archaic ceramics, clearly belong to Eleian Pylos.<sup>26</sup> Submarine archaeology has revealed the



Map 2.1 Archaic Eleia: known and probable significant sites. Created by the author.

remains of harbour facilities adjacent to the modern port of Kyllene, and nearby ruins dating from at least the fifth century BC appear to be those of the ancient port city of the same name. Because it is mentioned in both the Homeric and Classical texts, Kyllene is highly likely to have existed during the Archaic period.<sup>27</sup> Remains on Cape Khelonatas dating from Mycenaean through to Classical times have been plausibly identified with the Hyrmine of the *Iliad*.<sup>28</sup> An unidentified settlement at nearby Vartholomio has revealed remains from the pre-historic to Roman periods.<sup>29</sup> Sherds discovered on land and under the

sea at the site of the Eleian port of Pheia (Agios Andreas), known from the literature of the Classical and later periods, suggest that it was occupied from the Early Helladic period to the Byzantine.<sup>30</sup>

A cemetery at Akones, east of modern Pyrgos, suggests settlement from Submycenaean until early Hellenistic times.<sup>31</sup> In the Alpheios valley, traces of walls and other remains from the Archaic period found at a site near modern Miraka, on the right bank of the Alpheios upstream from Olympia, have been identified with the Harpina of later texts.<sup>32</sup> Excavations near the village of Babés, on a steep hill looking northward to the Alpheios valley and directly opposite Olympia, aside from the remains of post-Archaic buildings, have produced ceramics from the Archaic to the Roman period.<sup>33</sup> This is probably the site of ancient Skillous, mentioned by Xenophon and in two Classical inscriptions.<sup>34</sup> Architectural remains from the Archaic period at modern Trypiti (Trypete), south of the Alpheios and not far from the border with Arkadia, appear to be those of Epeion, mentioned by Herodotos and Xenophon.<sup>35</sup>

The rock now known as Kleidhi rising from sea level beyond the western extremity of Mount Lapithas was 'probably in antiquity an island or at least a peninsula washed around by the sea'.<sup>36</sup> Ceramics from prehistoric to Roman times have been found there, and this site has been identified with that of Homeric Arene.<sup>37</sup> At a site on the northern side of Mount Minthe just to the east of the modern village of Vresto (Gardiki) which is probably to be identified with ancient Typaneiai, evidence of Archaic occupation has been found.<sup>38</sup> The people of Lepreon, whose settlement is securely identified with Classical and later ruins near the site of the modern town of the same name in the southern part of the region between Mount Lapithas and the Neda River, are mentioned on the Serpent Column from Delphi and by Herodotos in the context of the victory over Xerxes, and a sanctuary within the Classical fortifications is clearly Archaic, so their community must have existed by at least the end of the Archaic period.<sup>39</sup> Further south, a settlement at Prasadáki associated with a substantial sanctuary in use from the Archaic period until Roman times 'cannot be convincingly identified with any ancient toponym'.<sup>40</sup> It has been suggested, however, most recently by Rohn and Heiden, that it is ancient Pyrgos, mentioned by Herodotos.<sup>41</sup> This Pyrgos may be identical to the place called 'Pyrgoi' which Strabo locates near the Messenian border.<sup>42</sup>

This completes the list of definite or probable significant Archaic sites between the Rivers Larisos and Neda.<sup>43</sup> Epigraphic evidence suggests, however, that there were more. The Letrinians, mentioned on a dedication at Olympia which may date from the late Archaic period and by Xenophon, seem to have occupied the site of the present regional capital, Pyrgos, where Classical remains have been found.<sup>44</sup> The *Ewaoi* known from a late Archaic inscription from Olympia might have belonged to a *polis* situated within Eleia.<sup>45</sup> The unlocated community of the Khaladrians appears in an early fifth-century inscription in the Eleian dialect from Olympia, so it most likely existed during the Archaic period.<sup>46</sup>

Herodotos describes six urban centres south of the Alpheios as establishments of the Minyans: Lepreon, Makiston, Phrixa, Pyrgos, Epeion and Noudion. Of these,



likely sites for Lepreon, Pyrgos and Epeion have been suggested above. The remains of a Doric temple of Athena, most likely from the early fifth century BC, have been found at the modern village of Skillountia (Mázi). This site is most likely that of ancient Makiston.<sup>47</sup> Phrixa has been identified with Classical remains on a steep hill on the south bank of the Alpheios, about two kilometres north of the present town of the same name.<sup>48</sup> Noudion has not yet been located.<sup>49</sup> Since in identifying these six settlements as Minyan foundations Herodotos is clearly recording contemporary mythology, we cannot be sure that all of them existed in the Archaic period, but we have already confirmed that three were pre-Classical and may yet do the same for the remaining three.

Phlegon of Tralles describes an Olympic victor of the Archaic period as 'Lenaian', and Stephanos of Byzantion implies that a settlement called Lenos was located in the Alpheios valley, but no other sign of it exists.<sup>50</sup> Phlegon also describes two Archaic Olympic victors as Eleians from Dysponton. Stephanos places this settlement, which probably stood on the mountain road from Olympia to Elis, in Pisaia.<sup>51</sup> At some time after the forty-eighth Olympiad, conventionally converted to 588 BC, the Dyspontians joined a revolt from the Eleians.<sup>52</sup> Although the dates of both the Olympic victories and the revolt come from late sources and are probably highly inflated, these reports may still suggest that Dysponton existed by at least the end of the Archaic period.<sup>53</sup>

Some known Classical and later settlements may also have been occupied during the Archaic period. Although Lasion, near the northern section of the border with Arkadia, is first mentioned by Xenophon, a *kantharos* from the Geometric period has been found at the site, and excavation may well reveal significant Archaic remains.<sup>54</sup> Epitalion, also named by Xenophon, has been identified with a site on the left bank of the Alpheios near its ancient mouth, but this site 'has as yet yielded no Archaic or Classical finds'.<sup>55</sup> A site above the modern village of Platiana on the eastern extremity of Mount Lapithas which shows signs of Classical occupation may be that of Hypana, mentioned by Polybios.<sup>56</sup> Another toponym which appears in Polybios, Stylangion, may belong to a Classical site to the north of Lapithas.<sup>57</sup> Amphidolia, somewhere in the hills north-west of Olympia, is known from both a Classical inscription and the text of Xenophon.<sup>58</sup> The community of the Anaitians appears in an inscription from Olympia of c.475 BC.<sup>59</sup> Marganeis/Margana, mentioned by both Xenophon and Diodoros, seems to have been located either just west of Olympia or at a Classical site near modern Salmoni (Koukoura).<sup>60</sup> Theopompos refers to a *polis* called Laris(s)a in the border district of Eleia and Akhaia, but it may have been located within the latter region.<sup>61</sup> Diodoros names four *poleis* of the Akroreians, a people of Eleia to whom Xenophon also refers: Alion; Eupagion; Opous; and Thraistos.<sup>62</sup> A *polis* of the Eleians called Andria is known from a fourth-century BC fragment.<sup>63</sup>

Certain places mentioned by Strabo are also of interest. The Alasyeis appear in a Classical inscription from Olympia, and Strabo describes Alasyaion as a *khora* around Amphidolia which had once been a *polis*.<sup>64</sup> Strabo seems correct in identifying the Myrtountion of his day with the Myrsinos of Homer.<sup>65</sup> He also includes an unlocated settlement called Agriades among those communities

which joined together to make up the *polis* of the Eleians in the synoikism of 471 BC.<sup>66</sup> Aside from Harpina, discussed above, Strabo names three more of the eight cities of Pisatis. Salmone, at the source of the Enipeus (Lesinita), a tributary of the Alpheios, has been identified with the ‘Salamona’ of an inscription of c.425 BC.<sup>67</sup> All we know of Kikysion is what Strabo tells us, that it was the largest of the cities of Pisatis and was located near a spring called ‘Bisa’, not far from either Olympia or Dysponton.<sup>68</sup> Classical finds from near modern Pounari probably reveal the site of Herakleia, mentioned by Strabo and described by Pausanias as a *kome* of Elis.<sup>69</sup>

There is no secure reason to believe that any particular settlement for which we have only later evidence existed during the Archaic period. It would be remarkable, on the other hand, if none of them did, and it is likely that further archaeological work will date at least some of those known to have been occupied in Classical times back to an earlier period. Even without such evidence, however, it should be abundantly clear by now that during the Archaic period the region composed of the Peneios and Alpheios valleys and the districts as far south as the Neda contained a considerable number of human settlements of varying size and importance, of which that situated at the site of the Classical and later city of Elis was just one.

### **The cult sites of Archaic Eleia**

The sacred landscape of Eleia was transformed during Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times as new shrines were established and old ones fell into ruin, so the reports of cult places found in the works of later writers such as Strabo and Pausanias are not a reliable indication of what existed during the Archaic period.<sup>70</sup> There is, however, good archaeological and textual evidence of early cultic activity in the region. The remains of a small, Archaic, temple-like building in the south of the *agora* at the site of the later city of Elis may have housed a cult of Artemis.<sup>71</sup> A precinct of Artemis Alpheionia/Alpheiousa near the mouth of the Alpheios, probably on its right bank, contained paintings by the Korinthian Kleantes, who appears to have been working around 700 BC.<sup>72</sup> Just to the south of the Alpheios, the small temple of Zeus on a hill at the likely site of the Archaic and later settlement of Skillous has been dated to the fifth century BC, but an inscription on stone found in the cella of the temple could belong to the sixth century and other probably dedicatory finds seem to come from the late Geometric or Archaic periods.<sup>73</sup> A shrine of Poseidon at Samikon is attested only for later times, but the remains of a shrine to the Atlantides and Nymphs located at the same site are both Archaic and Classical.<sup>74</sup> Votive terracotta animal figures from Kombothekra on Mount Lapithas dated to as early as the late ninth century BC suggest the presence of an Archaic sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis.<sup>75</sup> In the far south, near Prasiáki in Lepreatis, on the site of a more impressive Classical structure, stood an Archaic temple of Athena Agonos.<sup>76</sup>

From the Early Iron Age, too, a significant shrine was located on the left bank of the Kladeos River, just above its junction with the Alpheios. This was to

become the famous sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, known as ‘Olympia’. During the Early Helladic II period (2500–2300 BC), a prehistoric tumulus with a surrounding stone circle was constructed on this site, and a group of apsidal houses a little to the north-east of the tumulus indicate human habitation close to the end of the third millennium (Figure 2.1).<sup>77</sup> Sherds discovered towards the hill of Kronos and across the Kladeos testify to a Mycenaean settlement in the vicinity during the Late Helladic IIIA period (1500–1450 BC), and thirteen chamber tombs cut into a hill directly north of the hill of Kronos reveal Mycenaean occupation up to the first half of the twelfth century BC.<sup>78</sup> Towards the end of the Bronze Age, flooding of the Kladeos caused the remains of earlier periods, apart from the upper portion of the tumulus, to be covered with sand. A so-called ‘black layer’ of ash and charcoal was later deposited on top of the sand. This ‘black layer’ contained the remains of a great quantity of Geometric terracotta and bronze figurines of people and animals, along with fragments of various terracotta vessels and crushed animal bones.<sup>79</sup> These finds span the Submycenaean to Early Archaic periods, from the late eleventh to the late seventh centuries BC.<sup>80</sup>

Leaving aside the question of who might have constructed the prehistoric tumulus, we can delineate three major periods of occupation of the site. The first ended around 2100 BC, and the second, the Mycenaean, lasted from around 1500 to 1150. Then followed a break of at least a century until c.1050 BC when the third phase, which continued throughout ancient times, began. No convincing evidence suggests that Olympia was the scene of cultic activity during either the period when the apsidal houses were built or the Mycenaean phase.<sup>81</sup> The forms of pottery from the ‘black layer’, however, ‘indicate a bias towards drinking



*Figure 2.1* The remains of an apsidal house from the third millennium BC at the site of Olympia. Photo courtesy of the author.

vessels and therefore may well be connected with ritual drinking and feasting in the course of religious festivities in the sanctuary'.<sup>82</sup> The *kylix* in particular, of which two Submycenaean examples have been found at Olympia, was associated with cultic ritual from Mycenaean times, and similar ceramic forms come from other mainland Greek sanctuaries. This pottery, along with the terracotta figurines of the tenth century and later, constitutes convincing evidence of continuous cultic activity at Olympia from as early as the late eleventh century BC.<sup>83</sup> The foundation of a new cult around the visible remains of an earlier culture is far from unusual, since the same phenomenon has been observed, for example, at Delphi, Delos, the Argive Heraion, the Spartan Menelaion and Eleusis, and the remains of the tumulus from the third millennium seem to have marked out this particular location as a potential site for a shrine.<sup>84</sup>

An Archaic inscription which prescribes the offering of lambs according to ancestral custom implies that animal sacrifice was an early practice at the sanctuary.<sup>85</sup> The appearance in the 'black layer' of ash and carbonised bone mixed with fragments of ceramics, some clearly used for ritual drinking, suggests that cultic activity in the period from the eleventh to the seventh centuries BC consisted of libations and animal sacrifices accompanied by feasting.<sup>86</sup> Large numbers of bronze tripod cauldrons have also been found at the site, mainly from the ninth and eighth centuries BC.<sup>87</sup> These vessels, standing on three legs and therefore (unlike four-legged items) suitable for outdoor use on uneven ground, must originally have been used for cooking, perhaps for boiling meat during festive occasions when the participants camped near the sanctuary.<sup>88</sup> These tripods became dedications to the deity and were perhaps by this means left *in situ* for use at subsequent festivals.

It remains uncertain, however, which particular god or hero was originally worshipped at the site of Olympia, since there are no inscriptions on any of the Protogeometric or Geometric votives.<sup>89</sup> Despite the presence of the prehistoric tumulus and the surrounding stone circle in the area of the later Pelopion, the shrine is unlikely to have been a *heroon* of Pelops, whose cult may not have been established at Olympia until late in the Archaic period.<sup>90</sup> Pausanias reports that in his day there was an altar to Ge ('Earth') made of ashes inside the sanctuary where in earlier times there had been a *manteion* (oracle) of the same goddess. He adds that an altar of Themis had been built on what is named the Stomion ('Mouth').<sup>91</sup> On the basis of this passage, it has been suggested that Ge was the more ancient divinity worshipped at Olympia, and a comparison with Delphi, where the oracle at first belonged to Ge, then to Themis and finally Apollo, seems indeed to suggest parallel developments at Olympia.<sup>92</sup> Archaeology, however, has not uncovered the remains of an altar to Ge, so the cult cannot be dated, and the shrines of Ge and Themis may well have been established in Olympia at quite a late time in response to their presence at Delphi.<sup>93</sup>

Pausanias also reports that those of the Eleians who knew about earliest times said that Kronos was the first king of the sky and that the men of the Golden Age had built a temple for him in Olympia. Certain persons maintained, furthermore, that Olympia had been the scene of a struggle between Zeus and Kronos for

the throne, and in Pausanias' time an annual sacrifice was offered to Kronos at the spring equinox on top of the hill of Kronos, on the northern side of the sanctuary.<sup>94</sup> The extent to which the beliefs and practices reported by Pausanias originated from an early time is uncertain, but an inscribed bronze plaque from Olympia dated to the middle third of the sixth century BC records the decision that a priest known as the *theokolos* should sacrifice to Kronos during the Olympic festival.<sup>95</sup> The clearly visible hill of Kronos, which exhibited a peculiarly regular profile,<sup>96</sup> was the most remarkable topographical feature of the valley of the Kladeos and constituted 'an excellent point of observation, dominating the entire section of the valley in the vicinity of Olympia'.<sup>97</sup> It may thus have attracted cultic activity from a very early period. Erosion of the Kronion over time, however, makes it unlikely that any evidence of such activity there will ever be discovered, and we may never know whether or not Kronos was the original chief deity of the shrine.

As Kyrieleis notes, since the Kladeos flowed much closer to the sanctuary up to c.700 BC, some of the votive and sacrifice remains in the 'black layer' must have been washed down onto the area of the later Pelopion before this time, and in the seventh century 'further great quantities of rubble were deposited there'.<sup>98</sup> Votives and the like would not have been shifted from one cult area into others, he reasons, so the finds in the 'black layer' must all belong to a cult of the chief god of the shrine, Zeus.<sup>99</sup> In his view, there had been an earlier altar of Zeus just to the north-west of the later Pelopion, but when c.600 BC it was replaced by the altar known from historical times, this altar was levelled, causing material from various periods to become mixed.<sup>100</sup>

We are not entitled to assume, however, that the earlier altar had belonged to Zeus Olympios, nor, indeed, to any aspect of Zeus at all. The archaeological evidence certainly suggests that an earlier altar had existed in the vicinity of the later Pelopion, and the god worshipped there might well have been Zeus in one of his many aspects,<sup>101</sup> but the terracotta and bronze animal figurines found in the sanctuary declined in number after the eighth century and had disappeared entirely by the second half of the seventh,<sup>102</sup> so a profound change in cultic activity was clearly taking place. We may thus be dealing with two quite distinct cults, an earlier one of either Kronos or an alternative aspect of Zeus which had gone into decline and a later one of Zeus Olympios. It is possible that after 700 BC an increasingly 'connected' culture sought to engage with the wider Hellenic world by developing a cult at its major shrine which was more in tune with the theology presented in such works as those ascribed to Homer and Hesiod. Since no remains of the later altar have ever been found, we cannot discern the date of its construction, so we need not assume that it appeared only after the demolition of the earlier altar around 600 BC. For a time, two deities may indeed have contested pre-eminence at the shrine, as the myth reported by Pausanias suggests.<sup>103</sup>

Whatever we may think about the identity of the original chief deity, we can be sure that the cult of Zeus Olympios was dominant well before the beginning of the sixth century BC. This cult maintained the ritual feasting and drinking characteristic of earlier practice,<sup>104</sup> but one feature, at least, appears innovative: the quadrennial festival at which the famous games were conducted, probably held



for the first time early in the seventh century.<sup>105</sup> Another possible innovation from this period is the oracle that operated at the altar of Zeus. Unlike seers elsewhere in Greece, the Eleian *manteis* acted in an official capacity as members of a particular *gene*, which were either kinship groups or guilds.<sup>106</sup> The myths of origin of the Iamids in Phaisana on the middle Alpheios (found in Pindar), and of the Klytiads in Psophis on the upper Erymanthos (reported by Pausanias), date the arrival of both mantic houses at Olympia to heroic times.<sup>107</sup> Each of these myths, however, is the product of a specific time and place, so they need not suggest that *manteis* were practising at the shrine during the earlier centuries of its existence.<sup>108</sup> The first literary mention of the mantic clan of the Iamids available to us is found in an ode of Pindar which celebrates an Olympic victory of around 472 BC, and the Klytiads first appear in an inscription of 292 BC recorded by Pausanias.<sup>109</sup> There is evidence for their existence at an earlier time: the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, most likely composed between 580 and 520 BC, speaks of ‘oracles of Zeus . . . from deep-eddying Alpheios’; Herodotos reports that an Eleian *mantis* had worked for Polykrates, who ruled Samos in the 530s or 520s BC; and Eleian *manteis* are mentioned in an inscription from Olympia of c.475 BC.<sup>110</sup> Olympia, on the other hand, is not listed among the six Greek oracles which Herodotos says Kroisos of Lydia consulted not long before beginning his war against the Persians in 547 BC,<sup>111</sup> so we cannot be certain that seers were operating at the altar of Zeus Olympios at any time before the late sixth century.

Early in the sixth century BC, a building later known as the Heraion (‘temple of Hera’) was constructed inside the confines of the sanctuary (Figure 2.2). As Moustaka points out, in ‘both the written tradition and the excavation results, the great Doric temple at the foot of the hill of Kronos is viewed as the oldest



Figure 2.2 The Heraion at Olympia. Photo courtesy of the author.

cult building in the shrine of Olympia'.<sup>112</sup> The absence of any indications that the temple was dedicated to Hera (such as inscribed objects or dedications similar to those found in known Heraions in other regions of Greece), however, tend to confirm the conclusion that, as first suggested by Dörpfeld, the building later known as the Heraion was the original temple of Zeus.<sup>113</sup>

From the late eleventh century to the end of the eighth, it seems, Olympia was the scene of sacrificial feasting associated with the ashen altar of a god who may have been either Kronos or Zeus in one of his aspects. From the early seventh century, a quadrennial festival of Zeus Olympios which included athletic competitions was held. It is possible priestly seers began to deliver oracles on the basis of their interpretation of the sacrifices at the ashen altar of the same deity. Two significant events appear to have occurred around 600 BC: the levelling of the older altar of ash; and the construction of the first temple of Zeus (later called the Heraion). In the course of the sixth century BC, various Greek communities built treasuries on a terrace overlooking the finishing line of the stadion, 'which terminated in the Altis until the second third of the fifth century'.<sup>114</sup> Building continued at the site throughout the remainder of the Archaic period and, of course, for many centuries to come.<sup>115</sup>

## Olympia and the wider world

Eder notes that *kantharoi* like those from Olympia have been found at Salmone, Samikon and Gryllos, and finds of Submycenaean vases from these locations and others in the vicinity of the sanctuary suggest to her that it was 'a meeting point for the local population within the rather scattered pattern of Early Iron Age settlement in southern Elis'. Taita argues, in addition, that finds from the Peneios valley differ from those around Olympia and that although the people of the two valleys had shared origins they were divided because of their separate 'fluvial axes'.<sup>116</sup> Geometric *kantharoi* from Eleian Pylos on the Peneios, however, also appear to fit into the ceramic category defined by Eder, and a krater found at Elis is similar to those from both Pylos and Olympia.<sup>117</sup> Coleman, reporting on excavations at the site of Eleian Pylos, notes that:

the Archaic pottery has very close ties with that found at Olympia; taken together, the two sites allow us to recognise a local Elean school of Archaic pottery which developed in its own way from the preceding Geometric pottery with a minimum of influence from Corinth and Lakonia.

According to Morgan, 'all early pottery from the sanctuary is Elean', and Möller concludes that 'the Geometric and Subgeometric ceramics of the eighth and seventh centuries, although the finds are very sparse, reveal a largely homogeneous decoration in the river valleys of the Peneios and the Alpheios'.<sup>118</sup> The limited ceramic finds thus point to a certain cultural uniformity in the region, and so do not support the proposition that the sanctuary commenced its existence as a merely local point of convergence.



Because pastoralism was a significant economic activity in Eleia from early times, stock routes, including river crossings, must have been important elements of the regional transportation infrastructure. The Alpheios was prone to flooding for a significant part of the year,<sup>119</sup> but even then could be crossed at two points. The first of these was near its mouth, where in Mycenaean times lay Thryon/Thryoessa, described in the *Iliad* as the ‘ford of the Alpheios’, and in the Classical and later periods Epitalion, where the army led by the Spartan king Agis crossed the river in 401 BC.<sup>120</sup> Two passages from Pindar show that there was a second ford near the site of Olympia, and Pausanias was able to cross here at a time of year when the waters of the Alpheios were ‘full and both large and pleasant to see’.<sup>121</sup> Pausanias had left the coastal road at Samikon and proceeded almost directly northward to reach Olympia, from which further roads led generally westward to the coastal ports, northward to both the plain of the Peneios and Mount Pholoe and eastward along the valley of the Alpheios to Arkadian Heraia and the site of the Classical city of Megalopolis, ‘the crossroads of communication in the Peloponnese’.<sup>122</sup> The intersection of these major routes near the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios made it a significant focal point of the region of Eleia, offering ‘excellent accessibility from every direction’ and connecting the region to the rest of the Peloponnese.<sup>123</sup>

In summer, Olympia provided sufficient fodder and water for large numbers of stock, allowing herders to pause for a time at the location marked out by the Kronion and the adjacent Helladic tumulus. The vast numbers of animal figurines from the tenth to the seventh centuries BC found at the site and the degree to which animal sacrifice was a feature of cultic activity there suggest that the early dedicants were engaged in stock raising. By at least the Archaic period, Olympia appears to have become a point of convergence for seasonally migrating herders of cattle, sheep and goats who moved along routes which set the pattern for the roads of later times. It was here that the paths of transhumance converged, and here that a seat of cultic activity showing clear signs of a pastoral origin was established.<sup>124</sup> When herding families met at this site, it is likely goods were exchanged and arrangements made for sharing the available pasture. During the Archaic period, as the surrounding region became more densely populated and more settlements appeared, what began as a festive cult at the intersection of major stock routes must have attracted participants in increasing numbers. The ritual feasting which became a significant aspect of cultic practice at the sanctuary must also have provided a focus of social interaction, where new acquaintances could be made and old ones renewed, and the marriages which provided bonds of kinship between groups could be arranged.<sup>125</sup> This site may also have assumed some degree of judicial or political importance as a centre for settling disputes between the various communities and their members. In these ways, as the Mycenaean and immigrant populations of the lowlands of Eleia merged, a new communal identity seems to have found its expression through participation in the cult at the sanctuary beside the Kladeos.

The shrine of Olympian Zeus, it has been suggested, attracted interest beyond Eleia from pre-Archaic times. The forms of the terracotta and bronze figurines

found there are mainly common to the western Peloponnese, but while some of those from the late tenth and early ninth centuries appear to have followed Argive and Arkadian types, Lakonian and then Korinthian styles predominated during the eighth century.<sup>126</sup> The dedication of bronze tripod cauldrons began early in the ninth century BC, but increased greatly around the turn of the eighth, when there was a marked change in style. Many of these seem to have been brought in from Messenia and, during the eighth century, the Argolid.<sup>127</sup> Much of the jewellery dedicated at Olympia during the ninth century was imported from Italy or Sicily, but later, like the figurines, may have been produced locally for the festival.<sup>128</sup>

Morgan concludes that visitors to Olympia during the Early Iron Age came from various parts of the Peloponnese, including Messenia, Arkadia, Lakonia and Argos.<sup>129</sup> If so, it would seem that in this period members of the chiefly class from much of the Peloponnese adopted the sanctuary beside the Kladeos as a meeting place where relations of *xenia* (ritualised friendship with people outside one's own community) could be established and renewed. The veneration of the god, enacted through sacrificial feasting and drinking, would thus have become the expression of a common elite identity over a broad area.<sup>130</sup> These conclusions, however, rest largely upon the dubious hypothesis that Eleia was virtually unpopulated until late in the eighth century,<sup>131</sup> and the inhabitants of the region may themselves have been responsible for both producing the votive items of western Peloponnesian origin and importing those that came from further afield.<sup>132</sup> The sanctuary beside the Kladeos may thus have remained the scene of a mainly regional gathering until the early seventh century BC, when, it is likely, the quadrennial festival of Zeus Olympios was first held. From that time, it seems, athletes from Messenia, Dyme, Kleonai, Korinth, Megara, Sparta, Epidauros, Sikyon and Athens began to compete there alongside Eleians.<sup>133</sup> Only then, perhaps, did the Olympic festival cease to be a purely Eleian regional event and begin to draw participants from the emerging Greek *poleis*. The advent of the new, super-regional sanctuary of Olympian Zeus may thus have been associated with the development of the Greek *polis* at the beginning of the Archaic period.

From an Athenocentric point of view, Olympia may appear to have stood on the fringes of the Greek world, but from the perspective of the Greek colonies in far-flung corners of the Mediterranean it enjoyed a remarkably central position. The Eleian ports of Kyllene and Pheia were conveniently located for ships from the west, the Adriatic and the Korinthian Gulf. Apart from the occasions when unfavourable weather made it dangerous to round the promontories of the southern Peloponnese, too, a journey from the Aegean or north Africa presented no particular difficulty. From the early seventh century the institution of the athletic competitions and perhaps of the oracular worship of Zeus Olympios at his ashen altar were accompanied by the participation in the quadrennial festival of outsiders from progressively further afield, and Olympia attained a panhellenic significance. The bronze tripods of earlier times began to be replaced by large, oriental-style cauldrons,<sup>134</sup> and from c.600 BC Greek *poleis*, and especially the colonies, began to build treasuries on the terrace to the north of the Altis.<sup>135</sup> The sanctuary increasingly saw the dedication of inscribed military equipment to memorialise victories,

and by the early fifth century many Greek communities were dedicating bronze and terracotta statues, especially of Zeus, for the same purpose.<sup>136</sup> Statues were also dedicated to commemorate victories in the athletic competitions, many won by athletes from Greek colonies in southern Italy and Sicily.<sup>137</sup>

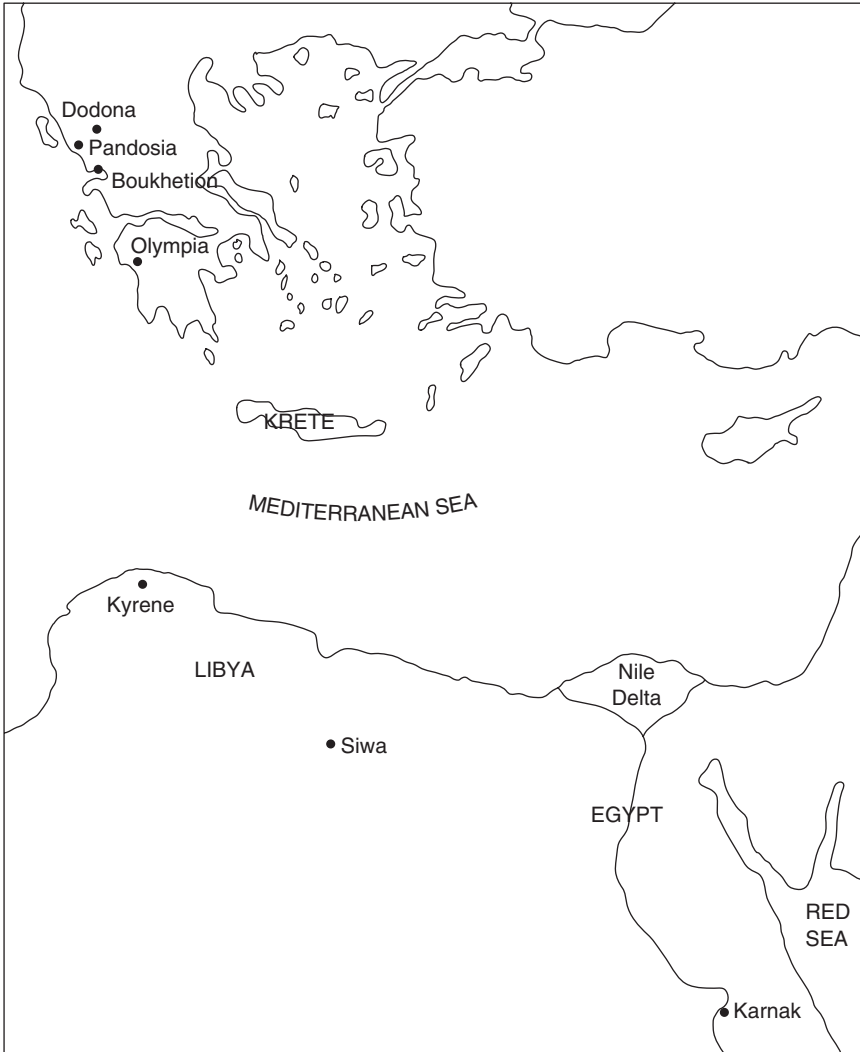
Among the colonists who built treasuries at Olympia in the sixth century BC were the Kyrenaians, who lived on the coast of Libya.<sup>138</sup> The Kyrenaians regularly attended the festival at Olympia, where their athletes won several victories.<sup>139</sup> An inscription of c.500 BC specifying regulations for foreigners staying at Olympia shows that the people of Libya, most likely the Greeks of that country, enjoyed privileged relations with the sanctuary.<sup>140</sup> It also suggests that visitors from Kyrene could travel to Olympia along a sea route that stretched from the coast of Libya via Krete, an observation confirmed by the report in Pseudo-Skylax that the largely direct sea route from the western tip of Krete to Kyrene took only 'a day and a night' (Map 2.2).<sup>141</sup>

The Kyrenaians also enjoyed close relations with the oracle of Zeus-Ammon at the oasis of Siwa in Libya, which lay about 250km inland from the Mediterranean shore. The temple which housed this oracle must have been constructed by the Archaic period, since the cartouche of the Pharaoh Amasis, who reigned from 570–526 BC, has been found among its remains.<sup>142</sup> From this period, too, the head of Zeus-Ammon, featuring ram's horns on the bearded head of Zeus, appeared on the coinage of the Kyrenaians, whose main deity until then had been Apollo.<sup>143</sup> Between 520 and 490 BC, moreover, the Kyrenaians constructed their own temple of Zeus-Ammon on a hill adjacent to the original town, built on the same scale as that of Zeus Olympios erected at Olympia a generation later.<sup>144</sup>

Pausanias observes in relation to Siwa that the Eleians:

appear to have consulted the oracle in Libya from earliest times, and altars are dedicated in the sanctuary of Ammon by the Eleians. And written on them are both all that the Eleians have enquired and all of the replies of the god, and the names of the men who went from Elis to Ammon. These are in the sanctuary of Ammon.<sup>145</sup>

The Eleian dedication of altars at the temple of Ammon suggests a strong and enduring association between Olympia and Siwa, facilitated by the close relations of both with Kyrene.<sup>146</sup> The oracle of Ammon, nevertheless, seems Egyptian in origin, and from Siwa a chain of oases ran south-eastward to reach the Nile at Karnak, home of the temple of Amun.<sup>147</sup> Herodotos records that when an Eleian embassy to Psammis (Psammetikhos II, 595–589 BC) arrived in Egypt, the Pharaoh 'called to council those said to be the wisest of the Egyptians'.<sup>148</sup> The priests of Amun-Ra at Karnak, who held all of the important priestly and mantic offices in Egypt during the New Kingdom,<sup>149</sup> were most likely among them, and the Eleian delegates may have included the priests of Zeus Olympios. By at least the fifth century BC the most significant deities of the Greeks and Egyptians were being identified with each other, since Herodotos directly states that the Egyptians call Zeus 'Amun'.<sup>150</sup> The Eleians appear not to have heeded



Map 2.2 Olympia and its overseas connections. Created by the author.

the advice of the Egyptians to cease competing in the Olympic contests themselves if they were to judge them fairly,<sup>151</sup> but the conference in Karnak may have discussed other matters of significance for the development of religious ritual in both Greece and Egypt.

According to Herodotos, certain stories told to him by the priests of Theban Zeus in Egypt and the prophetesses of Dodona suggest that two priestesses had once been carried off by the Phoenicians and sold into slavery in Epeiros and Libya. The first of these had established a shrine of Zeus at Dodona, where she

practised divination, while the other founded the oracle of Ammon, which was also sacred to Zeus. Herodotos, who had visited both sites, adds that the mode of divination in Egyptian Thebes (Karnak) was like that of Dodona.<sup>152</sup> Strabo informs us, furthermore, that the oracles of Dodona and Zeus-Ammon at Siwa gave responses in the same manner as each other, through 'tokens'.<sup>153</sup> While Greek writers were inclined to perceive closer analogies between various phenomena than we might consider justified, archaeological finds suggest that these reports of Herodotos and Strabo are not unfounded.<sup>154</sup> Herodotos' interpretation of the stories he had heard, however, seems purely speculative, and we need to find a more convincing explanation for the apparent similarities in oracular practice between these three shrines. There can be little doubt that both Karnak and Kyrene were in communication with Siwa, and a fifth-century BC bronze head of Zeus-Ammon from Dodona suggests that by Herodotos' time there was indeed contact between that shrine and Kyrene and/or Siwa.<sup>155</sup> The physical means by which communication was carried out between Dodona and the three African sanctuaries, however, requires investigation.

The Eleians appear to have founded four colonies, Pandosia, Boukhetion, Elatria and Batiiai, in the district of Kassopaia, southern Epeiros.<sup>156</sup> These were probably established during the seventh and sixth centuries, perhaps around the time the Kypselid tyrants of Korinth founded Ambrakia and Anaktorion on the Ambrakian Gulf.<sup>157</sup> The territory of the Eleian colonies extended from the Glykys Limen, the 'sweet harbour' at the mouth of the River Akheron, down to the northern shore of the Ambrakian Gulf.<sup>158</sup> Pandosia appears to have been located on the hill of Kastri, on the left bank of the River Akheron, which flowed into the Glykys Limen.<sup>159</sup> Large fleets anchored in this harbour during ancient and medieval times, when it was far more extensive than today.<sup>160</sup> Boukhetion was established on what was then an island off the northern shore of the Gulf, near the mouth of the River Louros, and Elatria and Batiiai on the mainland nearby.<sup>161</sup> The Eleian colonies were thus well situated for the purpose of exploiting the natural resources of Epeiros.<sup>162</sup> Boukhetion, in addition, commanded the entrance to the Louros valley, along which ran the major route of pilgrimage from southern Greece to the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona.<sup>163</sup> An alternative route to Dodona left the coast near Pandosia.<sup>164</sup> Archaeology has provided evidence of close relations between Dodona and Olympia,<sup>165</sup> suggesting that the Eleian colonies, whatever their original purpose, came to facilitate contact between these two sanctuaries.

There were clearly cultic similarities between the oracles of Amun at Karnak, Zeus-Ammon at Siwa and Zeus at Dodona, and a significant Archaic temple of Zeus-Ammon was also constructed at Kyrene. In ancient times a chain of oases, some traces of which remain today, ran westward and then north-westward from Karnak on the Nile to Siwa in the Libyan desert, from where it was clearly possible to reach Kyrene. A sea route from Kyrene led eastward for a while along the African coast and then directly northward to the western tip of Krete and onwards to the Eleian port of Pheia, near Olympia. From Pheia, a further sea journey landed travellers at one of two Eleian colonies, Boukhetion or Pandosia, both convenient points of disembarkation for Dodona. The Eleians' colonisation of Kassopaia,

close relations with Kyrene and contribution to the oracle at Siwa, along with their delegation to Egypt, suggest that they took part in and helped to facilitate the flow of religious personnel and oracular pilgrims of Zeus, Zeus-Ammon and Amun along a land and sea route which ran between Dodona, Olympia, Kyrene, Siwa and Karnak. Olympia by the sixth century BC seems to have occupied a significant position in a religious nexus which stretched from the middle Nile to the mountains of northern Greece. By the end of the Archaic period, in addition to its growing panhellenic importance, the Eleian shrine of Zeus Olympios appears to have become one of the major religious focal points of the central Mediterranean.

## Notes

- 1 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 1–2.
- 2 *AR* 2004/05, 35; 2007/08, 42.
- 3 Morgan 1990, 235–8.
- 4 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 7; Eder 2001b, 237–9.
- 5 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 9–10; cf. Morgan 1990, 237.
- 6 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 15–16.
- 7 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 10, 24; cf. Siewert 2001, 246.
- 8 *ADelt* 47 B1, 112–13; *AR* 1997/98, 48.
- 9 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 13–33.
- 10 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 33–4.
- 11 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 34–5.
- 12 This volume, p. 17. The name does not appear in the surviving works of Hesiod.
- 13 Pind. *Ol.* 1.78; 9.7; 10.34.
- 14 Hdt. 6.70.1–2.
- 15 Hdt. 8.73.2; Roy 2004, 495.
- 16 *NIO* 202–6; cf. Siewert 1991, 81–2, nos. 4–8; Minon 36; *SEG* 41.396.
- 17 This volume, pp. 17–18.
- 18 Siewert 1994, 17–24; Minon 1.
- 19 Siewert 1994, 26.
- 20 Siewert 1994, 27.
- 21 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 3; cf. Siewert 1991, 81–4.
- 22 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 4; cf. Morgan 1990, 51.
- 23 This volume, pp. 15–16.
- 24 Where further references are provided by Roy or Hansen in *IACP*, those works alone are often referred to here.
- 25 *ADelt* 47 B1, 113–14; 48 B1, 103–5; 49 B1, 194; 50 B1, 177; 52 B1, 249; *AR* 1996/97, 47; 1998/99, 46; cf. 1983/84, 27; 1997/98, 51; 1999/2000, 51; 2000/01, 47; 2002/03, 35; Roy 2004, 493 n.5.
- 26 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.16, 26; Coleman 1986, 1–9, 34–65, 155–65; Morgan 1990, 239–42.
- 27 Roy 2004, 499; *ADelt* 54 B1, 243; *AR* 2005/06, 46; 2007/08, 42–3; 2008/09, 38–9. The report in Coldstream 1979, 181 of a Geometric cemetery at Kyllene appears unfounded: Morgan 1990, 243.
- 28 Servais 1964, 9–36; Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 97–8; Roy 2004, 492.
- 29 Other unidentified Classical sites north of the Alpheios include those at Elaionas (Malpasi), Goumero and Korifi (Koukouvitsa): Roy 2004, 493, cf. 489–90. Roy, 493 n.5 lists additional sites where material which may turn out to be Archaic or Classical has been found; cf. *ADelt* 54 B1, 236–7; 55 B1, 272, 274; *AR* 1990/91, 32; 1997/98, 48; 2004/05, 45; 2009/10, 53.
- 30 Morgan 1990, 238, 243; Roy 2004, 492; Kraft *et al.* 2005, 26–7; this volume, pp. 8–9.

- 31 *AR* 2002/03, 35; *ADelt* 52 B1, 248–9.
- 32 Roy 2004, 492. The appearance of Harpina at Thuc. 5.50.3 results from an emendation which need not be accepted.
- 33 Rohn and Heiden 2009, 354–5; Hellenic Military Geographical Service 1:100,000, ‘Tropaia’, see Μπαμπες, Lat. 37.37, Long. 21.38; cf. Moustaka 2002a, 304; Nielsen 2004, 545–6.
- 34 Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.10; Minon 22 = *IvO* 16; Minon 46 = *IvO* 930; Siewert 1991, 83.10; *Hell.* 6.5.2. Identification: Joachim Heiden, pers. comm., Nov. 2013. Earlier scholars associated ancient Skillous with Classical remains near modern Makrisia, and ancient Pyrgos with the remains at Babés; Nielsen 2004, 545–6.
- 35 *ADelt* 37 B1, 135; *AR* 1990/91, 32; Pritchett 1989, 50–7; Nielsen 2004, 542–3. Graves with ceramics from the tenth and ninth centuries BC have also been discovered here: Eder 2001b, 242.
- 36 Rohn and Heiden 2009, 356–7; cf. Kraft *et al.* 2005, 16–18.
- 37 *ADelt* 37 B1, 133–4; 38 B1, 109–10; 52 B1, 250; 53 B1, 241; *AR* 1989/90, 32; 1990/91, 32; 2002/03, 35; 2004/05, 33; Kraft *et al.* 2005, 16; Rohn and Heiden 2009, 356. The relatively well-preserved ruins of the city of Samikon just inland from Kleidhi have not been dated any earlier than the fourth century BC: *AR* 1991/92, 25; 2003/04, 31; 2008/09, 37; 2009/10, 53; 2010/11, 52; 2011/12, 48; Nielsen 2004, 542; Rohn and Heiden 2009, 356–7.
- 38 Pritchett 1989, 53–7; Nielsen 2004, 542.
- 39 Nielsen 2004, 543–4; *AR* 2013/14, 56.
- 40 Nielsen 2004, 542, cf. 545. For the temple, see this volume, p. 34.
- 41 Herodotos 4.148.4; Rohn and Heiden 2009, 11–12; cf. Arapojanni 2002, 325; Nielsen 2004, 542 n.6.
- 42 Strabo 8.3.22; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Πύργοι. This matter is discussed by Nielsen 2004, 541–5, s.v. Pyrgoi, Lepreon, Pyrgos.
- 43 Some of the many other possible settlements briefly discussed by Roy 2004, 491 nn.2, 3 may also have existed during the Archaic period.
- 44 Roy 2004, 499–500; Minon 47 = *NIO* 207. *NIO* dates this inscription to 525–475 BC, but Minon is inclined towards the second quarter of the fifth century.
- 45 Minon 10 = *IvO* 9; Roy and Schofield 1999, 155–65; Roy 2004, 499; this volume, p. 89.
- 46 Minon 12 = *IvO* 11. If the Metapians known from a further inscription from Olympia of c.475–450 BC were indeed the *me-ta-pa* mentioned in the Linear B tablets from Pylos, their unlocated settlement would probably have existed throughout the Archaic period: Minon 14 = *IvO* 10; Eder 2011, 112–14. This identification, however, is doubtful: Roy 1997, 313–14; 2004, 500.
- 47 Pritchett 1989, 65–6; Nielsen 2004, 544; Ruggeri 2004, 102–7; Rohn and Heiden 2009, 352–4.
- 48 Pritchett 1989, 70–1; Nielsen 2004, 545.
- 49 Nielsen 2004, 544.
- 50 Phlegon *FGrH* 257 F 7 from Steph. Byz. s.v. Λήνοϛ; Moretti no. 89; Roy 2004, 499.
- 51 Phlegon *FGrH* 257 F 4, 6 from Steph. Byz. s.v. Δυσπόντιον; Moretti nos. 2, 39; Roy 2004, 494.
- 52 Paus. 6.22.3–4; cf. Strabo 8.3.32.
- 53 This volume, pp. 74–6.
- 54 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 30; 4.2.16; 7.1.26, 4.12, 13; Pritchett 1989, 28–30, plates 58–65; *AR* 2002/03, 37; Roy 2004, 499.
- 55 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25; Nielsen 2004, 543; cf. Themelis 1968, 201–4; *AR* 2010/11, 52.
- 56 Polyb. 4.79.9; Pritchett 1989, 46–57; Nielsen 2004, 541.
- 57 Polyb. 4.79.9; Pritchett 1989, 71–3; Nielsen 2004, 542.
- 58 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25; Minon 44 = *IvO* 257; Siewert 1991, 81.2; Roy 2004, 494.
- 59 Minon 14 = *IvO* 10; Roy 2004, 494.



- 60 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23–25, 30; 7.4.14; Diod. 15.77.4; Roy 2004, 492. Eder reports an Early Iron Age grave at the latter site containing ceramics similar to those from Olympia, but, as with similar finds at Gryllos (south of the Alpheios) and Kasteika near modern Pyrgos, this need not signify a settlement: Eder 2001b, 241–2.
- 61 Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 386 from Strabo 9.5.19; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23; Roy 2004, 499.
- 62 Diod. 14.17.8; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14; Roy 2004, 493–4, 498–500, 502, nos. 246, 252, 261, 264.
- 63 Teupalos *FGrH* 408 F1; Roy 2004, 492.
- 64 Strabo 8.3.10; Minon 45 = *IvO* 258; Siewert 1991, 81.3; Roy 2004, 493. This should probably not be associated with the Homeric Ale(i)sion: Servais 1964, 39–40.
- 65 Strabo 8.3.10; Servais 1964, 37, 47; Roy 2004, 492.
- 66 Roy 2004, 492.
- 67 Strabo 8.3.31–2; Minon 25 = *IvO* 18; *LSAG* 20; Roy 2004, 492.
- 68 Strabo 8.3.31, 32; Roy 2004, 491 n.2.
- 69 Strabo 8.3.32; Paus. 6.22.7; Roy 2004, 492. Strabo 8.3.1 also reports that a third Pylos (apart from the Messenian and the Eleian ones) was synoikised into Lepreon at some time, but its existence is doubtful; cf. Nielsen 2004, 541. For discussion of the evidence for an Archaic settlement called ‘Pisa’, see this volume, Ch. 3.
- 70 Strabo 8.3.12, 14; Paus. 5.5.5, 6, 11; 6.21.3–22.1, 22.7, 8, 23.3, 8, 24.6, 8, 25.1, 2, 26.1, 3, 5.
- 71 Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 30–3; this volume, p. 29.
- 72 Strabo 8.3.12; Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 8.246C; Taita 2013, 377–80. This is probably not the same as the temple of Artemis Alpheiaia which Paus. 6.22.8 saw among the remains of Letrinoi: Taita 2013, 379–80.
- 73 Moustaka 2002a, 304; Rohn and Heiden 2009, 355.
- 74 Strabo 8.3.13; Paus. 6.25.6; Tausend 1992, 20; Morgan and Coulton 1997, 113–14; Moustaka 2002a, 304; Ruggeri 2004, 96–108; cf. Mylonopoulos 2006, 137–9.
- 75 Moustaka 2002a, 304; Taita 2007, 96–7; Rohn and Heiden 2009, 357.
- 76 Moustaka 2002a, 303; Arapojanni 2002, 328, cf. 325–29; *ADelt* 51 B1, 185; 54 B1, 235–6; 55 B1, 274; *AR* 2001/02, 47; 2002/03, 36; 2005/06, 44; 2009/10, 51; 2011/12, 45; Nielsen 2004, 542, cf. 545. For cult sites south of the Alpheios, cf. Roy 2015, 180–2.
- 77 Kyrieleis 2002, 215; cf. *AR* 1990/91, 31; Ekroth 2012, 100.
- 78 Eder 2001a, 202–3 with references at n.15.
- 79 Kyrieleis 2002, 215–16; 2006, 35–55; cf. Ekroth 2012, 100.
- 80 Eder 2001a, 201–4; cf. 2001b, 233–5, 239; Kyrieleis 2002, 214–16; 2006, 39, 47–55; Ekroth 2012, 100.
- 81 Eder 2001a, 203, 206–7; cf. Morgan 1990, 22; Kyrieleis 2002, 217.
- 82 Eder 2001a, 205, cf. 204, 206–8; Kyrieleis 2002, 216.
- 83 Eder 2001a, 208.
- 84 Kyrieleis 2002, 218; Taita 2007, 84.
- 85 Minon 6 = *NIO* 1; Taita 2007, 87–8.
- 86 Taita 2007, 85.
- 87 Morgan 1990, 31; Taita 2007, 85.
- 88 Cf. Ekroth 2012, 109.
- 89 Taita 2007, 89.
- 90 Ekroth 2012, 95–107; cf. Kyrieleis 2002, 219; Barringer 2009, 242–3.
- 91 Paus. 5.14.10; Morgan 1990, 42–3.
- 92 Parke 1967, 180–1; Morgan 1990, 42–3; Taita 2007, 90.
- 93 Paus. 10.5.5–6; Taita 2007, 92.
- 94 Paus. 5.7.6, 10; 6.20.1.
- 95 Minon 6 = *NIO* 1; Taita 2007, 88.
- 96 Pind. *Ol.* 1.11.

- 97 Taita 2007, 23.
- 98 Kyrieleis 2002, 217.
- 99 Kyrieleis 2002, 218; cf. Taita 2007, 88.
- 100 Kyrieleis 2006, 38–55; Taita 2007, 24–5, 89; Ekroth 2012, 100–1.
- 101 Paus. 1.32.2; 5.14.1, 7; cf. Schwabl 1972, 253–376; Bourke 2011, 12 n.17.
- 102 Taita 2007, 25, 97, 106.
- 103 Paus. 5.7.6, 10.
- 104 Morgan 1990, 54–5.
- 105 This volume, pp. 69–74.
- 106 Johnstone 2008, 110–16.
- 107 Pind. *Ol.* 6.29–77; Paus. 6.17.6.
- 108 Bourke 2014, 19–25.
- 109 Pind. *Ol.* 6.4–11; cf. *scholia* in Drachmann 1903, 155–6.6a–8b; Paus. 6.17.5–6; Bourke 2014, 14–17.
- 110 Hes. fr. 193 Merkelbach and West, 1967 = fr. 136 Most 2007 (translation Most); Minon 14 = *IvO* 10; Hdt. 3.132.1–2; cf. West 1985, 136; Bourke 2014, 26–33.
- 111 Hdt. 1.46.1–49.1; cf. 8.134.1.
- 112 Moustaka 2002a, 302.
- 113 Moustaka 2002a, 302–6; 2002b, 199–205. For all we know, the cult of Hera may have been introduced to Olympia only in the fifth century BC: Moustaka 2002a, 306–7; 2002b, 204–5; Barringer 2009, 223 n.2.
- 114 Barringer 2009, 223; cf. Brulotte 1994, 53–64.
- 115 Scott 2010, 157–8.
- 116 Eder 2001a, 205; 2001b, 241–3; Taita 2007, 84–5.
- 117 Coleman 1986, 26–7; Morgan 1990, 243, cf. 247.
- 118 Coleman 1986, 6; Morgan 1990, 53; Möller 2004, 263.
- 119 Taita 2007, 19–20.
- 120 *Il.* 2.592; 11.711–12; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25–30; Leake 1830 I, 49; cf. 1846, 8; Taita 2007, 20.
- 121 Pind. *Ol.* 1.92–5; 2.12–13; Paus. 5.6.7, 7.1, cf. 5.3–6.6; Taita 2007, 20–1.
- 122 Taita 2007, 23; see this volume, Ch. 1.
- 123 Taita 2007, 22, cf. 19–21.
- 124 Taita 2007, 22–30.
- 125 Taita 2007, 85–7.
- 126 Morgan 1990, 30–9, 61–2, 89–92.
- 127 Morgan 1990, 30–1, 36–7, 62, 89–90.
- 128 Morgan 1990, 34–5, 37.
- 129 Morgan 1990, 61–103.
- 130 Morgan 1990, 29, 45, 56, 219–30; Donlan 1999, 34, 291, 315, 356. On *xenia*, Cartledge 1987, 244–5.
- 131 This volume, pp. 16–17.
- 132 The discovery of the remains of an Archaic kiln at Olympia supports this view: *AR* 2012/13, 22; Reinhard Senff pers. comm. Aug. 2013.
- 133 Moretti nos. 1–27; this volume, pp. 29–30, 69–70.
- 134 Morgan 1990, 103.
- 135 Scott 2010, 163–9; Taita 2013, 342–3.
- 136 Scott 2010, 169–76; Roy 2013, 465–6.
- 137 Scott 2010, 178; Taita 2013, 343.
- 138 Scott 2010, 165–7; Taita 2013, 343.
- 139 Moretti nos. 194, 257, 268, 269, 347, 421, 423, 428, 430, 442, 508, 990.
- 140 Minon 8 = *NIO* 4; Siewert 2006, 48; Scott 2010, 164–7 with n.82; Taita 2013, 343–4.
- 141 Ps.-Skylax 47; Siewert 2006, 48; Shipley 2011, 64; cf. Plut. *Ages.* 40.2.
- 142 Parke 1967, 197, 200; Holmes 1979, 1723, 33; Lloyd 1983, 345.
- 143 Parke 1967, 202–4; cf. Hdt. 2.32.1; Austin 2004, 1244, 1246.
- 144 Parke 1967, 204.

- 145 Paus. 5.15.11; Parke 1967, 211.
- 146 Parke 1967, 211.
- 147 Lloyd 1983, 343–5 with fig. 4.10.
- 148 Hdt. 2.160.1–4; cf. Diod. 1.95.2.
- 149 Lloyd 1983, 306.
- 150 Hdt. 2.42.5; cf. Diod. 1.12.2, 97.9; Strabo 17.1.46, 47; Plut. *Mor.* 354C; Lloyd 1983, 190; Watterson 1984, 145; Hart 1986, 6; Hayes 1997, 28, 96–9.
- 151 Apellaïos of Elis seems to have won the stadion at a later festival: Moretti no. 114; Zoumbaki 2005, 91.78.
- 152 Hdt. 2.54.1–57.3.
- 153 Strabo 8, fr. 1a.
- 154 Parke 1967, 56, 100–14; Watterson 1984, 146; Dillon 1997, 94–7.
- 155 Parke 1967, 208, cf. fig. 4; cf. Cook 1914, 371, cf. 361–70; 1903, 403–4.
- 156 Dem. 7 *Halonnesos* 32; Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 206–7; cf. Strabo 7.7.5; Yalouris 1996, 30 and n.74; Funke *et al.* 2004, 324–4, 347–8.
- 157 Strabo 7.7.6; 10.2.8; Lepore 1962, 138–9; Hammond 1967, 427; cf. 1956, 32; 1997, 48; Dakaris 1971, 32; Yalouris 1996, 30.
- 158 Thuc. 1.46.4; Ps.-Skylax *Periplus* 30; Strabo 7.7.5; Livy 8.24.3; Hammond 1956, 26–30; 1967, 475–8; 1997, 48, 51; Lepore 1962, 137, 140. Pliny *NH* 4.1.4 seems confused in saying that the Akheron flowed into the Ambrakian Gulf.
- 159 Leake 1835 IV, 55; Dakaris 1971, 164; Besonen *et al.* 2003, 199–234; Funke *et al.* 2004, 347; cf. Thuc. 1.46.4; Dem. 7 *Halonnesos* 32; Strabo 7.7.5; Paus. 1.17.4–5.
- 160 Thuc. 1.46.1–5; Dio Cassius 50.12.2; Anna Komnene *Alexiad* 6.33; Dakaris 1971, 5; Besonen *et al.* 2003, 202–1, 208–9, 221–4, figs. 6.12–15; *contra* Hammond 1956, 33–4.
- 161 Hammond 1956, 33–4; cf. 1967, 475–8; 1997, 48; Lepore 1962, 139–40; Wiseman and Zachos 2003, 3 fig. 1.2, 18 fig. 1.6; Jing and Rapp 2003, 180–90 fig. 5.19b, 189–95; Funke *et al.* 2004, 342–4.
- 162 Dakaris 1971, 188.
- 163 Hammond 1967, 172–3; 1997, 48; Treadwell 1983, 6; cf. British Admiralty War Office 1916, 21, 155.
- 164 Cf. Strabo 6.1.5; Leake 1835 I, 231, 237; Hammond 1967, 172–3.
- 165 Cook 1903, 271–8; 1904, 87; Hammond 1967, 429–33; Treadwell 1983, 51–2, cf. 44–50; National Archaeological Museum of Athens, nos. 16546; Kap. 70, 1211; Kap. 87; cf. Paus. 5.16.2–3.

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### 3 The question of Pisa

#### Pisa in the early texts and inscriptions

The suggestion made in the previous two chapters that a distinct and homogeneous Eleian *ethnos* inhabiting both the Peneios and Alpheios valleys and centred on the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios emerged early in the Archaic period raises the question of what to make of mentions in various ancient texts of terms such as Pisa, Pisaian, Pisatis or Pisatan in relation to certain inhabitants of the Alpheios valley.<sup>1</sup> One way to approach this much-disputed question is first to locate in time and then determine the significance of the earliest appearance of these terms.

Siewert lists several fragments of Archaic texts in which he claims to find occasional mentions of Pisa or events that occurred there,<sup>2</sup> but a close examination of these fragments reveals that this claim is problematic. Although Pisa is briefly mentioned in a later summary of an epic by the possibly seventh-century BC poet Peisandros of Kameiros, we cannot be sure that Peisandros himself actually used the term.<sup>3</sup> Several fragments of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* concern events during the time of the mythical Pelops which later sources locate in Eleia, but none of these actually includes the term 'Pisa'.<sup>4</sup> The same can be said about three fragments relating to the *Great Eoiai*.<sup>5</sup> While in the passage containing the first of these fragments Pausanias acknowledges the *Eoiai* as his source of information about the suitors of Hippodameia, both his identification of a mound in the Alpheios valley as their monument and his report that when Pelops ruled the Pisaians he sacrificed to the suitors every year are based upon what 'they say' rather than upon information from the *Eoiai*.<sup>6</sup> There is thus no reason to believe that the term 'Pisa' ever appeared in the works ascribed to Hesiod, and it is also unknown in Homer.<sup>7</sup>

As Siewert makes clear, however, the term is indeed used by certain late Archaic and early Classical poets. Xenophanes mentions Pisa twice in one elegy: the *temenos* of Zeus is 'beside the river Pisa in Olympia'; and athletes contend for victory 'beside the banks of Pisa'.<sup>8</sup> Strabo reports that 'some', most likely certain Alexandrian grammarians, say that when Stesikhoros calls Pisa a *polis* he actually means the territory.<sup>9</sup> In the first of four fragments relating to the odes of Simonides, a genitive form of Pisa is discernible, but its significance cannot be determined.<sup>10</sup> In the second, a passage from the declamations of the fourth-century AD rhetorician



Himerios, we learn what happened ‘when Simonides was hurrying to Pisa to honour Zeus with a hymn’.<sup>11</sup> In the third fragment, a scholiast to Pindar says that both Pindar and Simonides deliberately kept the first syllable of Πίσας short.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the fourteenth-century AD *Planudean Anthology* quotes two lines of Simonides in which the wrestler Milon wins six victories at the river Pisa.<sup>13</sup>

Both Xenophanes and Simonides thus refer to a river called Pisa in connection with Olympia.<sup>14</sup> The earliest known passage in which the stream beside Olympia is called the Kladeos, on the other hand, is Xenophon’s report of the Pisatan celebration of the Olympic festival in 364 BC.<sup>15</sup> This river ran so close to the sanctuary that it had to be diverted c.700 BC in order to prevent the site from becoming flooded in winter, so that permanent structures could be built.<sup>16</sup> ‘Pisa’ may well have been its original name. While Himerius’ anecdote about Simonides could be taken to indicate that the poet conceived of Pisa as a place, this poet was certainly active after the battle of Plataiai in 479 BC and may have survived until the 78th Olympiad (468–465 BC), so he need not have used the term in this way until very late in the Archaic period or even early in the Classical.<sup>17</sup> This leaves us with the report recorded by Strabo that Stesikhoros called a certain territory ‘Pisa’. An entry in the Parian Marble which places Stesikhoros between the battles of Marathon (490 BC) and Salamis (480 BC) suggests, however, that this poet lived until at least the last decade of the Archaic period.<sup>18</sup> These references to ‘Pisa’ as a place rather than a stream, it is clear, are not necessarily evidence of the early usage of the term.

In Pindar’s fourteenth Olympian ode, probably composed in 488 BC, the victor is crowned ‘beside the honoured hollows of Pisa’.<sup>19</sup> Here the expression ‘hollows’ (κόλποις) appears to indicate a valley, so ‘Pisa’ could still be the name of the stream which ran through it. In the first Olympian ode, composed for a victory of Hieron of Syrakousai in 476 BC, however, Pindar calls the place where the victory was won ‘Pisa’ and refers to the mythical king Oinomaos as ‘Pisatan’.<sup>20</sup> This victory is also celebrated in an ode of Bakchylides, who sings of Pisa, where Hieron’s horse Pherenikos had been victorious,<sup>21</sup> and in two further odes for victories in 476 Pindar calls the place where the Olympic festival was held ‘Pisa’.<sup>22</sup> Our earliest securely dated references to Pisa as a place and to a person as Pisatan thus appear to belong to 476 BC.

The epigraphic evidence tells a similar story. Siewert concludes that inscriptions on certain dedications indicate that in the seventh and sixth centuries BC the name ‘Olympia’ stood for ‘the sacred precinct, i.e. for the shrine and, from time to time, for the god himself’. ‘Pisa’, on the other hand, indicated ‘the profane, inhabited vicinity of the shrine’.<sup>23</sup> This may well have been the terminology of the late Archaic and Classical periods, but Siewert brings forward no example of any Archaic equipment inscribed with ‘Pisa’ or any of its cognates, and all but one of several further inscriptions he refers to date from the period when the state of Pisatis enjoyed a brief existence in the mid-360s BC.<sup>24</sup> The exception, by means of which a people called the Khaladrians grant their citizenship to a certain Deukalion and guarantee his right to land ‘in Pisa’, has been dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BC,<sup>25</sup> the same period in which a place called ‘Pisa’ is

first mentioned by Bakkhylides, Pindar and perhaps Simonides and Stesikhoros. The most compelling interpretation of this inscription presented so far is that Deukalion was now entitled to make use of certain land inside or near the sanctuary which had been set aside for the Khaladrians during the Olympic festival.<sup>26</sup> Like the literary evidence, it does not oblige us to assume the existence of a polity called 'Pisa' at that time.

When Herodotos offers a precise calculation of the distance between Athens and Pisa, the latter toponym appears to indicate the location of the sanctuary of Zeus,<sup>27</sup> and this may be what it signified from the beginning of the Classical period or perhaps the end of the Archaic. As seen above, Siewert's claim that 'Pisa or events there are occasionally mentioned in the epic writers, pseudo-Hesiod and lyricists' remains unsubstantiated.<sup>28</sup> There is no mention of 'Pisa' in the literature of the seventh century, in late sixth-century sources the term appears to signify the small stream next to the sanctuary of Zeus, and there is no epigraphic evidence of its use before the fifth century BC. We cannot be sure that this expression described a place before 476 BC, and even then it seems limited to the near vicinity of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios.<sup>29</sup>

## Mythology and history

From Xenophon's *Hellenika* we learn that at the end of the Eleian War in 400 BC certain persons laid claim to Olympia. The Spartans decided, however, to leave the shrine in the hands of the Eleians, 'even though it did not belong to them from the beginning, because they considered those who contended for it to be rustics, and not competent to manage it'.<sup>30</sup> Xenophon also reports in relation to later events that the Arkadians 'prepared to hold the Olympic festival together with the Pisatans, who say that they were the first to manage the sanctuary'.<sup>31</sup> Diodoros, apparently relying upon the fourth-century BC Ephoros, records that at the 104th Olympiad, celebrated in 364 BC, 'the Pisatans, reviving the ancient position of their fatherland and using certain mythical and ancient (μυθικαῖς καὶ παλαιαῖς) arguments, declared that the management of the Olympic festival belonged to them'.<sup>32</sup>

The east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, constructed between 472 and 458/457 BC, bore a depiction of the chariot race in which the mythical hero Pelops won the hand of King Oinomaos' daughter Hippodameia (Figure 3.1).<sup>33</sup> This event is also reported in Hesiod, Epimenides and the pseudo-Hesiodic *Great Eoiai*,<sup>34</sup> and it appeared on the Chest of Kypselos, a Korinthian dedication at Olympia from the first half of the sixth century BC.<sup>35</sup> No Archaic text, however, seems to have mentioned Pisa, Olympia or Elis in relation to it, and Oinomaos may originally have been considered a king in Lesbos.<sup>36</sup> In an ode of Bakkhylides perhaps composed in 478 BC, nevertheless, an Olympic wrestling match takes place 'on the sacred plains of hallowed Pelops',<sup>37</sup> and an ode of Pindar composed for a victory of 476 BC situates the race at Olympia.<sup>38</sup> These odes, composed just a few years before construction of the temple of Zeus Olympios commenced, are the earliest evidence that we have to associate Pelops, Hippodameia and Oinomaos with the sanctuary.<sup>39</sup>



*Figure 3.1* Some of the marble sculptures from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus depicting the chariot race between Oinomaos and Pelops. From left to right: Hippodameia, Pelops, Zeus, Oinomaos, Sterope, kneeling girl, horses from Oinomaos' chariot. Photo courtesy of the author.

Kyrieleis, on the basis of the remains of an Archaic enclosure, places the inception of the cult of Pelops at Olympia early in the sixth century BC,<sup>40</sup> but the cult at the site of the prehistoric tumulus in the Altis may first have been identified with this particular hero only at the beginning of the Classical period.<sup>41</sup>

Pindar mentions Pisa or the Pisatans in seven further odes, composed c.474 to 452 BC.<sup>42</sup> Some of these simply confirm that 'Pisa' meant Olympia or its immediate neighbourhood,<sup>43</sup> but others refer to mythical events: before the Trojan War 'the Pisatans' appear alongside the Argives, Thebans and Arkadians, and Herakles collects his army and booty 'in Pisa', where he establishes the Altis.<sup>44</sup> These references, along with the description in the first Olympian Ode of the mythical king Oinomaos as 'Pisatan', an ethnic derived from the expression then used to describe the vicinity of Olympia, suggest that by at least the 470s BC a mythology had begun to circulate which mentioned this people, unknown from any earlier source.<sup>45</sup> Whether the poets were responsible or the Eleians themselves had claimed the mythical chariot race for Olympia is hard to say, but the latter must certainly have been pleased to see the principal event of their athletic festival provided with a venerable association, one which they soon literally set in stone on the east pediment of the new temple of Zeus.

The association of the myth of Oinomaos with Pisa found in the odes of Bakchylides and Pindar appears to have achieved general acceptance. Apollodoros makes three references to myths concerning Pisa. The first follows Pindar's tenth Olympian,<sup>46</sup> and the remaining two are based on the first Olympian: while Pindar calls Hippodameia's father 'Pisatan', in Apollodoros the same Oinomaos is king of Pisa.<sup>47</sup> Strabo, apparently following Apollodoros, records

that Oinomaos had once ruled Pisatis, succeeded by Pelops, and adds that Salmoneus was also said to have ruled there. The geographer, however, warns us against certain writers who claim that Oinomaos and Salmoneus had ruled over Eleia, not Pisatis, and others who would combine the two *ethne* into one.<sup>48</sup> Elsewhere Strabo reveals the identity of one of these writers: Ephoros had called Salmoneus 'the king of both the Epeians and the Pisatans'.<sup>49</sup> Although the Spartans in 400 BC seem to have accepted the historicity of an early, independent polity of the 'Pisatans', distinct from the Eleians, and the Arkadians in 364 found it convenient to go along with the idea, it is clear that not everyone in the fourth century BC agreed. Pausanias, too, records certain myths in which King Oinomaos is the ruler of Pisa, Herakles spares the Pisaians, and a bone of the hero Pelops is brought from Pisa to the Greeks at Troy.<sup>50</sup> In his description of the district around Olympia, the landscape is inseparable from the myth of the victory of Pelops over Oinomaos in the famous chariot race for the hand of Hippodameia.<sup>51</sup> This belief in a heroic kingdom of Pisa, it seems, originating in an ode of Pindar that was already more than a hundred years old at the time, was what Ephoros had in mind when he described some of the arguments used by the historical Pisatans of 364 BC as 'mythical'.

The text of Diodoros does not make it clear whether all of the arguments used by the historical Pisatans were both mythical and ancient or, while some concerned the purely mythical, others referred to 'ancient' and therefore supposedly historical matters. Certain late authors, however, narrate events which, in contrast to the mythical tales involving Pelops, may have formed the basis for historical arguments. Strabo, following his discussion of Homeric Elis, observes that 'it remains to tell about Olympia and the transfer of everything to the Eleians'.<sup>52</sup> The Aitolians led by Oxylos, he relates, had lived with the Epeians and enlarged their territory to incorporate Pisatis, including Olympia. The Eleians at the time of Iphitos had celebrated the first Olympic festival, but after the 26th Olympiad the Pisatans had taken back their homeland and continued to celebrate the games. Later, the Eleians had regained Pisatis and the games.<sup>53</sup> Like Eusebios, who records that the Pisatans held the games from Ol. 30 to Ol. 51, Strabo thus reports a prolonged period of Pisatan control over Olympia.<sup>54</sup>

While Strabo doubts that there had ever been an actual city called 'Pisa', Pausanias, despite finding no remains, claims to have identified its site and names a founder.<sup>55</sup> The boundary markers which in his time separated the country of the Arkadians and Eleians, says Pausanias, originally divided the Arkadians and Pisaians.<sup>56</sup> Pausanias also records supposed historical events in which the Pisaians struggle with the Eleians for control of Olympia. At the eighth Olympian festival the *Pisaioi* brought in Pheidon of Argos and held the games with him. At Ol. 34 the *Pisaioi* and their king Pantaleon, the son of Omphalion, raised an army from among their neighbours and held the festival in place of the Eleians. Some said that Pantaleon, a tyrant of Pisa who wanted to revolt from the Eleians, executed an opponent called Khamynos and used his property to build the temple of Demeter Khamyne. At Ol. 48:

when Damophon, the son of Pantaleon, gave the Eleians reasons for suspecting that he wanted to make a revolution against them and they invaded Pisaia bearing heavy arms, he persuaded them with entreaties and oaths to go home without achieving anything.<sup>57</sup>

Elsewhere in Pausanias we hear that upon the death of Damophon, tyrant of Pisa, reconciliation between Pisa and Elis was achieved by a college of sixteen female elders, one from each of the *poleis* of Elis.<sup>58</sup> Pausanias further relates, however, that:

when Pyrrhos, the son of Pantaleon, succeeded his brother Damophon as king, the Pisaians willingly began a war with the Eleians, revolting from them along with the Makistians and Skillountians, who were from Triphylia, and, of the other *perioikoi*, the Dyspontians.

The Dyspontians were, he adds, close relatives of the Pisaians. The Pisaians and all of their allies were driven out by the Eleians,<sup>59</sup> and from the spoils of this war, when Pisa and all of the *perioikoi* who revolted with the Pisaians were put down, the temple of Zeus and Pheidias' famous statue of the god were constructed.<sup>60</sup>

### The significance of the ancient arguments

Scholars who hold to what we may call the traditional interpretation of the evidence presented above maintain that early in the Archaic period a *polis* of Elis contested control of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios with a people called either the *Pisaioi* or *Pisatai*.<sup>61</sup> Others have asserted, however, that reports of such conflicts are the result of 'intentional history' constructed during post-Archaic times to meet the needs of particular groups at specific moments.<sup>62</sup> In 1910 Niese argued that despite what is found in Strabo, Pausanias and Eusebios no community of Pisa existed until the mid-360s BC, when the forces of the Arkadian League took possession of Olympia, formed some of the inhabitants of the vicinity into a state called 'the Pisatans' and held the games in company with them. Until then, Pisa was simply a district within Elis.<sup>63</sup> The various reports of Pisatan management of the Olympic festival, in Niese's view, arose arbitrarily as historians attempted to account for the past claims of the Pisatans to Olympia, which originated in 'the violently enforced celebration of the 104th Olympiad by the freshly-baked Pisatans and the Arkadian League'.<sup>64</sup> In the peace of 363 BC, Olympia was returned to the Eleians and the Pisatan state was eventually reincorporated into the Eleian *polis*. The arguments that the Pisatans had used to claim the Olympic festival, however, lived on in the literature and became accepted as history.<sup>65</sup>

Niese's view failed to gain general acceptance during the twentieth century, and from 1950 scholars generally referred to Ernst Meyer, who argued that the Eleians, unable to deny the fact of early Pisatan management of the games, sought to diminish its importance. The Eleian version had been taken up by Apollodoros, followed by Strabo, but Pausanias had gone still further, making the Pisatans into 'alien intruders'.<sup>66</sup> For Meyer, the events of the Olympiad of 364 BC, when considered

with the claim of the 'rustics' to Olympia in 400 BC,<sup>67</sup> show that a valid and ancient Pisatan claim had not been forgotten. This argument might at first appear to have some force, since, despite Niese's belief that the passage recording the claim of the 'rustics' was inserted into the *Hellenika* only after the events of 364 BC,<sup>68</sup> it is now considered reliable.<sup>69</sup> As the sophist Hippias of Elis informs Sokrates, however, the Lakedaimonians of his time were particularly fond of accounts of the heroes and men of earlier epochs,<sup>70</sup> so the 'rustics' may have used such myths in attempting to convince them of their right to Olympia in 400 BC and have continued to maintain their authenticity throughout the following decades. When Xenophon says of the Eleians that Olympia 'did not belong to them from the beginning', he may thus have been influenced by the same mythical arguments which Diodoros reports were used by the Pisatans in 364.<sup>71</sup>

On the disc of Iphitos from the Heraion at Olympia, Meyer further points out, the Pisatan Kleosthenes is named next to the Eleian Iphitos and the Spartan Lykourgos as one of the founders of the Olympic games, and Pisos, the eponym of Pisa, is described as the oldest mythical founder.<sup>72</sup> Aristotle, however, the first to report the existence of the disc, does not mention the name of the Pisatan Kleosthenes along with those of the other two figures, so it seems to have been inscribed onto the disc (itself most likely a Classical rather than an Archaic artefact) at some time after his report.<sup>73</sup> The reintegration of the erstwhile Pisatans into the Eleian state may not have been fully accomplished until a considerable time after the end of the dispute of the mid-360s,<sup>74</sup> so perhaps the name of Kleosthenes was added then.

The depiction of Pisos on the Chest of Kypselos at Olympia reported by Pausanias, Meyer is certain, constitutes contemporary evidence which is 'above suspicion' that an independent Pisa had existed during the time of the Kypselid tyranny at Korinth.<sup>75</sup> The name of 'Pisos', however, need not have been an original feature of the Chest.<sup>76</sup> Pisos, furthermore, appears there as one of several competitors in a chariot race during the funeral games for Pelias, but his rivals (one of them an Argonaut whose name might mean something like 'Starman, son of Comet') are not generally associated with Olympia,<sup>77</sup> so even if someone called Pisos did appear on the Chest at the time of its creation he need not have been seen as the eponym of a polity called Pisa until the Classical period.<sup>78</sup> Even if the figure depicted on the Chest of Kypselos was originally intended to have Olympic associations, finally, he may well have been an anthropomorphic representation of the river of Pisa mentioned by the early lyric poets, especially since Pausanias identifies one of the figures on the east pediment of the temple of Zeus as the river Kladeos, perhaps known earlier as 'the river of Pisa'.<sup>79</sup> Meyer's further arguments rest upon a faith in the early origin of myths which we first encounter in the epinikian poetry of the beginning of the Classical period.<sup>80</sup>

Taita believes that certain aspects of Eleian mytho-history were created during the fifth century BC in order to justify an Eleian takeover of the Olympic festival and games from the Pisatans. As she rightly points out, Strabo acknowledges Ephoros as the source of reports in his work concerning the Eleian origin of Aitolos, the return of the Aitolians to Elis, the Aitolian assumption of control



over Olympia and the Eleian foundation of the Olympic games.<sup>81</sup> Taita additionally notes a report in Strabo that the Aitolians had not only taken over the land of the Epeians and enlarged it to include Pisatis, but had also founded the Olympic festival.<sup>82</sup> This, however, is the one passage of Strabo concerning these events where he does *not* name Ephoros as his source,<sup>83</sup> so the claim that the Aitolians had conquered 'Pisatis' in addition to the land of the Epeians may be a later invention. In the passage where Strabo does acknowledge his debt to Ephoros, the Aitolians merely receive the custody of Olympia when they drive out the Epeians, and nothing is said about any Pisatans.<sup>84</sup>

By Strabo's time, a district of Eleia known as 'Pisatis' extended far beyond the Kladeos valley, reaching down to the sea on both banks of the Alpheios,<sup>85</sup> and the geographer seems to have conceived of the supposed kingdom of Pisa ruled by Oinomaos in a mythological timeframe earlier than that of Oxylos as equivalent to this extensive Pisatis of his own day. Strabo's determination to prove Homer literally correct in saying that 'the Alpheios flows as a broad stream through the country of the Pylians' obliges him to deny that the country of the Homeric Epeians had reached as far as that river until after the Aitolian invasion led by Oxylos, so he must postulate the later conquest of 'Pisatis' by the Aitolians.<sup>86</sup> We are under no such constraint, and nor was Ephoros. Even Strabo does not appear to claim that the Aitolian invaders founded the Olympic festival, but simply that the Eleians did so at the time when the competition was won by the Eleian Koroibos: he gives the Eleians the credit for the temple of Zeus, digresses to explain that they were not prosperous until the arrival of Oxylos and the Aitolians, and then says that 'they', clearly again the Eleians, instituted the games.<sup>87</sup> Ephoros similarly implies that Iphitos, an Eleian king supposed to have ruled much later than Oxylos, was the founder of the games.<sup>88</sup> In the tradition he records, Olympia is situated within the land of Elis which the Aitolians take over from the Epeians, and only later do the Eleians found the games. Taita's subsequent attempt to portray the Eleian claim to have instituted the Olympic festival as an example of late fifth-century propaganda thus rests upon poor foundations.<sup>89</sup>

The implication in an epigram from Aitolian Thermos recorded by Ephoros that Aitolos could be considered Eleian because he was born on the banks of the Alpheios seems to reflect an accurate view of the extent of Eleian territory during the early Archaic period.<sup>90</sup> Only in the reports of Xenophon and Ephoros from the fourth century BC do we hear of Pisatan claims to have been the first to manage the sanctuary. Apollodoros, apparently following the early mythographers, records that in order to get rid of accumulated cattle dung for the mythical king Augeias of Elis, Herakles diverted the waters of both the Peneios and the Alpheios, and thus implies that the two rivers flowed through the one kingdom.<sup>91</sup> Neither Pindar nor Herodotos mentions any earlier Pisatan control of the sanctuary, and we could not infer from Herodotos' report of the visit of Eleian envoys to Egypt during the reign of Psammetikhos II (595–589 BC) that he had any doubts about the position of the Eleians in Olympia at that time.<sup>92</sup> Herodotos also implies that the sanctuary of Olympia was already in Eleian hands before the time of Pheidon.<sup>93</sup> In Herodotos, too, as in later texts, seers from Olympia are invariably called 'Eleian' rather than 'Pisatan'.<sup>94</sup>



The conclusion which must be drawn from the discussion presented above constitutes a significant departure from the view of early Eleian history that has often been adopted by modern scholars: it is that we should proceed to investigate the history of Elis entirely free of any assumption that a separate Pisatan ethnicity or polity had existed in early times, that the Eleians were alien conquerors of Pisatis or that Olympia was ever anything less than an Eleian regional sanctuary.

Recent scholarship on the question of Pisa has supported Niese's view that the story of conflict between the Eleians and Pisatans for control of Olympia was fabricated in the 360s BC. Möller, systematically investigating the question of when, in the perception of the Greeks, the Pisatans first existed 'as an ethnically and politically functioning group with a claim to a territory',<sup>95</sup> concludes that 'Pisatis in the fifth century and at the beginning of the fourth was an integral component of Elis, and the Pisatans were Eleians, without their own ethnic identity, without geographical determination and without political autonomy.'<sup>96</sup> Soon after 370 BC the Arkadian League absorbed what remained of the state of Triphylia, established in southern Eleia c.400. In regard to the cities of the Alpheios valley only five years later, however, the Arkadians merely posed as the liberators and protectors of the 'Pisatans'. This suggests that, unlike the Triphylians, the inhabitants of the vicinity of Olympia could not be claimed as ethnically Arkadian. The Arkadians, in Möller's view, instead of absorbing this district, may have encouraged the dissemination of a history in which Elis and Pisa had been in conflict over the sanctuary during the Archaic period.<sup>97</sup> Giangiulio believes that the new polity established by the Arkadian League 'played a decisive role in shaping a Pisatan group identity'.<sup>98</sup> Once peace was concluded and Olympia returned to Eleian control, the Eleians, left with the task of reconciling the Pisatans to Elis, accepted the existence of an early Pisatan polity.<sup>99</sup> According to Nafissi, by Pausanias' day 'the affirmation of Eleian rights over Olympia against undue Pisatan influence had become a fundamental bond of the local culture'.<sup>100</sup> The arguments of Möller, Giangiulio and Nafissi provide support for the case presented by Niese over a century ago that no Pisatan state existed until 364 BC.<sup>101</sup> By 2008, Luraghi could claim without a great deal of hyperbole that 'everyone now agrees [that Pisa] never existed as an independent political entity before being created by the Arkadians in 365 BC'.<sup>102</sup> There are dissidents,<sup>103</sup> however, and Kōiv has recently opposed the conclusions of Niese, Nafissi, Möller and Giangiulio.<sup>104</sup>

Kōiv focuses on five main lines of argumentation, the first three of which can quickly be dismissed. His first argument is that since the region of Eleia is 'naturally' divided into three distinct districts (the valley of the Peneios; the valley of the Alpheios; and the country to the south of Mount Lapithas), the people of the Peneios and Alpheios valleys cannot have formed 'a joint polity' during the Early Iron Age.<sup>105</sup> As Kōiv himself acknowledges, however, the plain of the lower Alpheios 'can be viewed almost as southward extension of the Koile Elis [*sic*]'.<sup>106</sup> Kōiv's second argument concerns certain supposed testimonies for the existence of an Archaic political community of the Pisatans.<sup>107</sup> Much of this material has already been dealt with above, apart from various passages which Kōiv cites as evidence for early Pisatan Olympic victors. Certain fragments of Phlegon of

Tralles which he brings forward were all preserved by Stephanos of Byzantion,<sup>108</sup> and it is the latter who informs us that Dysponton is a *polis* and Lenos a *khora* of Pisatis, while Phlegon himself calls both Dyspontonian victors ‘Eleian’ and says nothing of the ethnicity of the victor from Lenos. When Stephanos places both Dysponton and Lenos in Pisatis, moreover, he clearly means the later district of Eleia rather than any Archaic polity, and no author actually ascribes a Pisatan ethnicity to the victors from these communities. Pausanias reports that Hypenos the Pisaian won in the fourteenth Olympiad, but Eusebios describes this figure as Eleian.<sup>109</sup> The available evidence, furthermore, provides no support for Kōiv’s assertion that the Eleian identity of the victors concerned was added later.<sup>110</sup>

Kōiv also presents a good deal of evidence and argument under the heading ‘the heroic traditions and the ethnic identities’, weaving a web of rather tenuous mythical connections, the significance of which depends upon various dubious assumptions.<sup>111</sup> One example is his association of the peoples of the Alpheios valley with the genealogy of Salmoneus, eponym of Salmone on the Enipeus (a south-flowing tributary of the Alpheios), on the basis that Salmoneus’ grandson Neleus was the founder of Pylos. To prove that this relationship is significant for his argument, Kōiv must follow Strabo in assigning to Lepreatis the Homeric Pylos from which Neleus’ son Nestor ruled.<sup>112</sup> It is clear, however, that in the Homeric epics Nestor’s Pylos is meant to be located in Messenia, where the remains of an extensive Mycenaean place have been excavated.<sup>113</sup> Had he adopted the ‘archaeological’ method recommended by Gehrke, where layers of myth are ‘excavated’ in order to build up a picture of their development over time, Kōiv would perhaps have reached different conclusions.<sup>114</sup>

Kōiv’s fourth argument is that accounts of the dynasty of Pantaleon found in the ancient texts, which appear pro-Eleian, must be ‘Eleian elaborations of originally Pisatan traditions’.<sup>115</sup> Finally, he argues against the suggestion that the Eleians after 363 BC would have accepted the reality of an earlier Pisatan claim to Olympia if it had no basis in historical fact, explaining that ‘the acceptance of the factual basis of these stories meant acknowledging the Pisatans’ claims for their ancient rights on Olympia’.<sup>116</sup> These last two arguments are useful because they raise an important question. As concluded above, the available evidence does not allow us to assume that a political entity called ‘the Pisaians’ or ‘the Pisatans’ existed during early times. If the reports found in Strabo, Pausanias and Eusebios of periods of Pisatan management of the Olympic festival are not evidence for the existence of an early Pisatan polity, we must now ask, just what do they signify? In order to adequately address this question, we must first establish a viable Archaic chronology for the Peloponnese in general and for Eleia in particular.

## Notes

1 This volume, pp. 18–21, 39–45.

2 Siewert 1991, 67 n.11.

3 Schol. Eurip. *Phoenician Women* 1760 in Bernabé 1987, 17–18.

4 Merkelbach and West 1967, 190–3; Most 2007, 133–6.

- 5 Merkelbach and West 1967, 259a, b; Most 2007, 197a, b.
- 6 Paus. 6.21.9–11.
- 7 Niese 1910, 35; Viedebantt 1930, 27; Möller 2004, 253–4.
- 8 Xenophanes 2.3, 21 in Gentili and Prato 1979, 169–70; cf. Niese 1910, 27.
- 9 Strabo 8.3.31; Niese 1910, 33–5; cf. Möller 2004, 251.
- 10 Simonides in Page 1962, 519, fr.1.6: Πίσι[α]ς.
- 11 Simonides in Page 1962, 589 = Edmonds 1924, 272.1; cf. Siewert 1994a, 30 n.70; Bourke 2011a, 9, 14–17.
- 12 Simonides in Page 1962, 633 = Edmonds 1924, 310.50.
- 13 Simonides fr. 153D; cf. Edmonds 1924, 396.185: ποτὶ Πίσια.
- 14 Strabo 8.3.31 reports that while there had never been a city called ‘Pisa’, a nearby spring was known as ‘Bisa’.
- 15 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.28–9; cf. Paus. 5.7.1, 10.7, 15.7; 6.20.6, 21.3.
- 16 *AR* 1994/95, 22; 1997/98, 49; 1999/2000, 50–1; 2010/11, 55; Sinn 2000, 11, 23–4; Kyrieleis 2002, 217; Christesen 2007, 21; Taita 2007, 23.
- 17 Hdt. 7.228.4; *Suidas Lexicon* s.v. Simonides, 439; Edmonds 1924, 248; Hornblower 2004, 22; Bourke 2011a, 14–17; cf. Sider 2001, 13–29.
- 18 *Marm. Par. FGrH* 239 A50, cf. 49; Shaw 2003, 127 n.269, 191. Köiv 2013, 332 follows earlier scholars in placing Stesikhoros early in the sixth century.
- 19 Pind. *Ol.* 14.23; Bowra 1969, 33.
- 20 Pind. *Ol.* 1.18, 70.
- 21 Bakkhylides 5.182; McDevitt 2009, 182, 114–16.
- 22 Pind. *Ol.* 2.3; 3.9; Bowra 1969, 78, 84; Möller 2004, 252.
- 23 Siewert 1991, 66, cf. 68–9.
- 24 Siewert 1991, 68 n.25; *IvO* 36; *SEG* 22.339; Mallwitz 1981, 99–101, Fig. 1.a; this volume 10b.
- 25 Minon 12 = *IvO* 11; *LSAG* 220.8; Minon I, 85.
- 26 Roy 1997, 313 n.31; Möller 2004, 252 n.15, 256–7.
- 27 Hdt. 2.7.1–2; cf. Nafissi 2003, 29; Möller 2004, 252.
- 28 Siewert 1991, 67.
- 29 Cf. Niese 1910, 29; Meyer 1950, 1735–46; Siewert 1991, 65–9; Nafissi 2001, 306; Giangiulio 2009, 70.
- 30 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.31.
- 31 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.28, cf. 14.
- 32 Diod. 15.78.2; cf. Niese 1910, 45; Giangiulio 2009, 71.
- 33 Paus. 5.10.4–7; cf. Thuc. 1.108.1–3; Diod. 11.80.2, 6; Robertson 1981, 80; Stewart 1983, 133; Morgan 1990, 18; Jacquemin 1999, 147; Roy 2002b, 260; Shaw 2003, 98; Barringer 2005, 213–14; Hurwit 2005, 136.
- 34 Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1.127b in Most 2007, F 197b; Paus. 6.21.10–11; this volume, p. 53.
- 35 Paus. 5.17.6–7; Köiv 2013, 331.
- 36 Pherek. fr. 37b; Schol. Eurip. *Orestes* 990; Robert 1881, 187–8 n.35; Fowler 2013, 430 has doubts.
- 37 Bakkhyl. 11.25; Bourke 2011b, 129–31.
- 38 Pind. *Ol.* 1.65–96.
- 39 Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 3.23; 5.9; 9.8–10; 10.25; Paus. 5.17.1–19.10; Möller 2004, 264; Ekroth 2012, 107.
- 40 Kyrieleis 2006, 55–61; cf. Roy 2015, 153.
- 41 Kyrieleis 2002, 219; 2006, 57; cf. Barringer 2009, 242–3; Ekroth 2012, 107; this volume, p. 36.
- 42 Dates: Bowra 1969, 69, 78, 84, 110, 127, 156, 175, 180, 213, 228.
- 43 Pind. *Ol.* 4.11; 6.5; 8.9; 13.29; *Nem.* 10.32.
- 44 Pind. *Ol.* 9.68; 10.43–5; cf. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 10.55b Drachmann, 1903; Möller 2004, 252.
- 45 Pind. *Ol.* 1.70, 9.68; Möller 2004, 260.

- 46 Pind. *Ol.* 10.43–63; Apollod. *Lib.* 2.6.3.
- 47 Pind. *Ol.* 1.70; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.4, cf. 9.
- 48 Strabo 8.3.31.
- 49 Strabo 8.3.33.
- 50 Paus. 5.1.6–7, 3.1, 13.4; cf. 8.20.2.
- 51 Paus. 6.21.3–22.1; Nafissi 2001, 306–7.
- 52 Strabo 8.3.30, cf. 23–9.
- 53 Strabo 8.3.30, 33.
- 54 Euseb. *Chron.* Schöne I, 197–8; cf. Niese 1910, 39.
- 55 Strabo 8.3.31; Paus. 6.22.1–2; Nafissi 2001, 307.
- 56 Paus. 6.21.3.
- 57 Paus. 6.21.1, 6.22.2–3.
- 58 Paus. 5.16.5–6.
- 59 Paus. 6.22.4; cf. 5.6.4.
- 60 Paus. 5.10.2.
- 61 Busolt 1880, 47–74; Kahstedt 1928, 173; Viedebantt 1930, 34; Ziehen 1937, 2531; Meyer 1950, 1751–2; Höhle 1972, 18; Gehrke 1986, 103; Walter 1993, 117; Siewert 1991, 69; 1994a, 29; 1994b, 262; 2001, 247; Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 28; Ruggeri 2004, 15, 66; Taita 2007, 67–8, 140–1; Kõiv 2013. See Kõiv 324, 54 nn.53, 54 for more on modern scholarship.
- 62 Niese 1910; Inglis 1998; Nafissi 2003; Möller 2004; Giangiulio 2009.
- 63 Niese 1910, 26–9; cf. Nafissi 2003, 28; this volume, pp. 194–5.
- 64 Niese 1910, 43.
- 65 Niese 1910, 45–7; Diod. 15.78.2.
- 66 Meyer 1950, 1748–9.
- 67 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.31.
- 68 Niese 1910, 44; cf. Nafissi 2003, 31–2; Möller 2004, 261; this volume, pp. 194–6.
- 69 Giangiulio 2009, 78.
- 70 Plato *Hipp. Maj.* 285D.
- 71 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.31; Nafissi 2003, 32. Nielsen 2007, 30–1 with n.96 does not seem to consider this possibility.
- 72 Meyer 1950, 1750; Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH* F 1.2; Schol. Plat. *Rep.* 465D; cf. Paus. 5.20.1.
- 73 Arist. fr. 533 Rose 1886 from Plut. *Lyk.* 1.2; Niese 1910, 46 n.3; Nafissi 2001, 321, cf. 309–10; 2003, 32–3; Giangiulio 2009, 81.
- 74 This volume, p. 197.
- 75 Paus. 5.17.9, cf. 5–6; 6.22.2; Meyer 1950, 1750: unverdächtiges zeitgenössisches Zeugnis; cf. Siewert 1991, 67 n.11.
- 76 Inglis 1998, 66.
- 77 Paus. 5.17.9: Ἀστερίων Κομήτου. The remaining charioteers include two further Argonauts, Admetos and Euphemos, and Polydeukes (Pollux), one of the Dioskouroi.
- 78 Cf. Kõiv 2013, 331; *contra* Giangiulio 2009, 73. Pisos' genealogy, indeed, appears to have been constructed in the fourth century BC: Möller 2004, 258–60.
- 79 Paus. 5.10.7; Bourke 2014, 28; this volume, pp. 53–4.
- 80 Meyer 1950, 1750.41–9.
- 81 Strabo 8.3.33; 9.3.12; 10.3.1–3, 6; Taita 2000, 151–2; this volume, pp. 18–20.
- 82 Strabo 8.3.30; Taita 2000, 151–2.
- 83 Strabo 8.3.30.
- 84 Strabo 8.3.33.
- 85 Strabo 8.3.12, 31–2; Niese 1910, 33–4.
- 86 *Il.* 5.545; Strabo 8.3.7.
- 87 Strabo 8.3.30.
- 88 Strabo 8.3.33.
- 89 Taita 2000, 168–88.

- 90 Strabo 10.3.3.
- 91 Apollod. *Lib.* 2.5.5.
- 92 Hdt. 2.160.1–4; cf. Diod. 1.95.2; Möller 2004, 249–52; this volume, pp. 42–3.
- 93 Hdt. 6.127.3; cf. Strabo 8.3.33; Paus. 6.22.2.
- 94 Hdt. 3.132.2, 5.44.2; 8.27.3, 9.33.1, 37.1; Xen. *Anab.* 7.8.10; Paus. 3.11.5, 12.8; 4.16.1; 6.2.4; 8.10.5; 10.1.3. At Pindar *Ol.* 6.5, we hear of the ‘mantic altar of Zeus at Pisa’, but the poet clearly intends merely to indicate the location of the altar.
- 95 Möller 2004, 253.
- 96 Möller 2004, 265.
- 97 Nafissi 2003, 32; Giangiulio 2009, 69; this volume, pp. 194–5.
- 98 Giangiulio 2009, 77.
- 99 Giangiulio 2009, 80–1; cf. Nafissi 2001, 317–21.
- 100 Nafissi 2003, 30; cf. 2001, 307–11.
- 101 Roy, for example, has been convinced to revise his former beliefs on this matter: Roy 2012, 131–2; 2013, 226 n.12; cf. 1997, 282; 1999, 153; 2002a, 238; 2004, 489. Roy 2012, 132, cf. 134–5, nevertheless, persists in his belief in the existence of an Archaic *polis* of Elis which was extended ‘through appropriation of new territory and incorporation into the Elean community of the inhabitants’ and would have involved ‘acceptance of the Elean identity of these new citizens’. On the document which Roy claims authenticates the existence of a *polis* of Elis in the Archaic period, see this volume, pp. 29–30. Cf. Kyrieleis 2006, 55.
- 102 Luraghi 2008, 79 with n.36, cf. 76, 213.
- 103 Nielsen 2007, 30–1 with n.96. For others, see Kõiv 2013, 324 n.54.
- 104 Kõiv 2013, 324–5.
- 105 Kõiv 2013, 325–9.
- 106 Kõiv 2013, 325; this volume, pp. 6, 10–11.
- 107 Kõiv 2013, 329–32.
- 108 Phlegon *FGrH* 257 F 4, 6, 7.
- 109 Paus. 5.8.6, 17.9; Euseb. *Chron.* I.195–6.
- 110 Kõiv 2013, 331.
- 111 Kõiv 2013, 333–52.
- 112 Kõiv 2013, 338–40; Strabo 8.3.3, 7, 30.
- 113 Davis 2008a, 42–6; 2008b, 53–68; Shelmerdine 2008, 81–96; Bennet 2008, 111–33.
- 114 Gehrke 2005, 18–24. For further and in some respects similar objections to Kõiv’s arguments, cf. Roy 2015, 151–2, n.14.
- 115 Kõiv 2013, 354, cf. 352–3.
- 116 Kõiv 2013, 354.

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## 4 Archaic political events

### Archaic Peloponnesian chronology

Three ancient authors report that Pheidon, the tyrant of Argos, once presided over the Olympic festival. According to Herodotos, Pheidon expelled the competition presidents (ἀγωνοθέται) of the Eleians and presided over the Olympic gathering himself. According to Strabo, Pheidon, claiming for himself the right to celebrate the Olympic festival along with the other games that his supposed ancestor Herakles had founded, ‘forced his way in and celebrated it’. Pausanias records that at the eighth Olympiad the Pisatans ‘brought in Pheidon the Argive . . . and held the games in common with him’.<sup>1</sup>

Strabo, apparently relying upon Ephoros, makes Pheidon tenth in descent from Temenos, the first of the returning Herakleids to rule Argos, which would place him ‘somewhere in the tenth century’.<sup>2</sup> The Olympiad which Pausanias allocates to Pheidon’s presidency of the festival, however, if we count from 776 BC, conventionally accepted as the date of the first Olympic games, would suggest that it occurred in 748 BC. The text of Herodotos offers a third possibility. One of the suitors of Agariste, daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon, was Leokides, the son of the same Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, who seized control of the Olympic games. The successful suitor of Agariste was Megakles of Athens, whose father Alkmaion had visited Kroisos, the king of Lydia, before the latter’s defeat at the hands of Kyros of Persia in 546 BC.<sup>3</sup> Herodotos evidently saw no difficulty in making Pheidon the contemporary of both Kleisthenes of Sikyon, the grandfather of Kleisthenes of Athens, and Kroisos, whom Kyros conquered. The suitors of Agariste would thus appear to have gone to Sikyon several years before the fall of Kroisos, so perhaps in the 550s BC. If Pheidon’s son was still young enough at this time to have been as fit as one of the other suitors, who could stand on his head on a table and vigorously wiggle his legs to music,<sup>4</sup> the father is unlikely to have been born any earlier than the late seventh century BC and would thus have ruled Argos during the sixth century rather than the tenth or eighth.

Ephoros’ placement of Pheidon in the tenth generation after Temenos (preserved in the text of Strabo) allows us to date him only in relation to mythical figures and events and is thus highly unreliable as historical evidence. The assumption that only one convention existed for numbering Olympiads has led historians to believe

that the Olympiad numbers for Peloponnesian events of the Archaic period found in the text of Pausanias and other ancient authors can refer to only one moment in time. This assumption, as we shall soon see, is entirely unfounded. It should not surprise us, indeed, that Pausanias could assign the eighth Olympiad to an event involving Pheidon, since other ancient authorities associate the seventh and eighth Olympiads with Thales of Miletos, who was clearly active in the sixth century BC.<sup>5</sup> Considering these factors, it is far more sound to determine the date of Pheidon's career in relation to the contemporary figures with whom Herodotos associates him and to whom we can attach an approximate date than it is to rely upon either the mythologically inspired calculations of Ephoros or the Olympiad numbers which Pausanias collected from various sources and handed down to us. Pheidon's intervention in Olympia is thus likely to have taken place during the first half of the sixth century BC.<sup>6</sup>

Strabo reports that the Eleians helped the Lakedaimonians to put down Pheidon, after which the Lakedaimonians 'joined the Eleians in establishing their control in both Pisatis and Triphylia'.<sup>7</sup> Strabo also records that 'after the last defeat of the Messenians' the Lakedaimonians assisted the Eleians, who had been their allies, to take control of the country as far as Messenia, all of which then came to be called 'Eleia'.<sup>8</sup> Since these two passages of Strabo seem to report the same event, this 'last defeat of the Messenians' is likely to have been the outcome of a Messenian War during the time of Pheidon. Together with a passage of Pausanias which lists the Argives as allies of the Messenians during the First Messenian War, they suggest that the Argive incursion into the western Peloponnese which enabled Pheidon to take over the Olympic festival was contemporaneous with that war.<sup>9</sup> Pausanias, while placing Pheidon's Olympic presidency in the eighth Olympiad, also records that the trouble between the Spartans and Messenians which led to the First Messenian War began during the fourth Olympiad and that this war broke out during the ninth.<sup>10</sup> These Olympiad numbers provided by Pausanias, despite their unreliability in absolute terms, do suggest a chronological proximity between Pheidon's presidency of the Olympic festival and the First Messenian War. The question remains, however, whether this war could possibly have occurred as late as the first half of the sixth century BC.

According to Pausanias, the First Messenian War broke out in the second year of the ninth Olympiad and lasted until the first year of the fourteenth, and the Second Messenian War was fought between Ol. 23.4 and Ol. 28.1.<sup>11</sup> Using a formula based upon dating the first Olympic games to 776 BC ( $y = 780 - 4x$ , where  $y$  represents the year in the Julian calendar and  $x$  represents the Olympiad), these Olympiad numbers have conventionally been converted to 743–724 BC for the First Messenian War and 685–668 BC for the Second. Shaw, however, questions the validity of this formula and proposes a fundamental reform of our understanding of Archaic Peloponnesian chronology.<sup>12</sup>

Shaw notes in particular the 'Anaxilas discrepancy', which throws into serious doubt the value of Pausanias' Olympiad numbers for the Second Messenian War.<sup>13</sup> Pausanias reports that this war ended with the fall of Eira in Olympiad 28.2. Following this, some of the Messenians fled to Rhegion in southern Italy, which

was ruled at the time by Anaxilas, himself the descendant of earlier Messenian refugees. In Ol. 29, they assisted Anaxilas in the conquest of Zankle, across the straits in Sicily, where he then allowed them to settle.<sup>14</sup> Herodotos, however, as Shaw points out, 'sets Anaxilas' dealings with Zancle after the fall of Miletus', which occurred a few years before the Persian invasion of Attika in 490 BC, and Thucydides informs us that some Samians and others fleeing the Persians had seized Zankle, but were soon expelled by Anaxilas, who colonised the place and renamed it Messana after his homeland.<sup>15</sup> Shaw reasonably concludes that Anaxilas' conquest of Zankle must have come after the Ionian Revolt of 500 to 497 BC. She also cites Robinson, who adds numismatic evidence to the passage from Thucydides in order to demonstrate that Anaxilas' conquest of Zankle took place in 489, which, applying the conventional formula, would be equivalent to Ol. 72.3. 'There is, therefore, a discrepancy of 43 Olympiads, or about 170 years, between the conventional value assigned to the Olympiad number 29 (664–661 BC) and the date of Anaxilas' conquest.'<sup>16</sup>

Discussing past scholarship in relation to the Anaxilas discrepancy, Shaw notes that none of the scholars she mentions had considered the possibility that some of the Olympiad numbers provided by Pausanias may have starting points other than 776 BC.<sup>17</sup> According to Pausanias, the Olympic victory of the Eleian Koroibos, who always appears at the top of lists of Olympic victors, was the first to be won when the games were 'revived' by Iphitos of Elis and Lykourgos of Sparta.<sup>18</sup> While Kallimakhos tells us that there were thirteen unrecorded Olympiads from the time of Iphitos until Koroibos won in the fourteenth, however, Aristodemos of Elis is reported as saying that Koroibos won in the 28th, after there had been 27 unrecorded victories, and that 'this was fixed as *the first Olympiad, from which the Hellenes reckon dates*'.<sup>19</sup> Shaw observes, in Huxley's words, that 'an Olympiad number may be represented by  $x$  in one system,  $x + 13$  in a second, and  $x + 27$  in a third.'<sup>20</sup> As Shaw goes on to make clear, this problem was compounded when some chronographers, combining the figures, ended up with more than 40 unrecorded Olympiads.<sup>21</sup>

Shaw seems right to conclude that the 'numbered Olympiads in Pausanias' *Messenika* have exerted a disproportionate influence on the chronology of the Messenian Wars, and . . . the conventional interpretation of their chronological value may be seriously inflating the antiquity of those wars'. The Anaxilas discrepancy suggests that the Second Messenian War ended not in 668 BC, but c.490 BC.<sup>22</sup> Shaw's discussion of additional chronological problems further illustrates the danger of readily converting Olympiad numbers to dates in the Julian calendar.<sup>23</sup> In a concluding chapter, she presents 'a radically revised view' in which 'the so-called First and Second Messenian Wars . . . may be identified as the conflicts occurring at the beginning and end of the sixth century', which scholars incorrectly distinguish from the wars they suppose took place in the eighth and seventh centuries. We should also take three further factors into consideration: an inscription on the base of a substantial Lakedaimonian dedication at Olympia dated to perhaps 490–80 BC which Pausanias appears to assign to the Second Messenian War; the testimony of Plato that the Lakedaimonians were

late for the battle of Marathon in 490 BC because they were fighting a war with the Messenians; and Strabo's apparently confused reference to four Messenian Wars.<sup>24</sup>

Huxley hesitates to accept the arguments of Shaw on several grounds, one of which is that while Taras and Satyrion are meant to have been founded following political problems at Sparta in the wake of the First Messenian War, some of the Greek material discovered at Satyrion belongs to a time before c.600 BC. We are not obliged, however, to associate the foundation of Taras with the First Messenian War,<sup>25</sup> and, even if we did, the earliest Greek settlement at the site of Satyrion need not have been Spartan. Huxley further argues that 'placing the First Messenian War in the second half of the eighth century explains the absence of Messenian victors from the Olympic list after Ol. 11, conventionally 736 BC'.<sup>26</sup> Pausanias' statement that the last Messenian victor won in Ol. 11, however, suggests only that Messenian athletes ceased to win victories during a war which he places between Ol. 9 and Ol. 14, and this evidence tells us nothing about which dates in the Julian calendar to associate with that Olympic victory.

Another possible objection to Shaw's view is that if the Second Messenian War ended around the time the Persians landed at Marathon in 490 BC, it would have been in progress during Kleomenes' reign in Sparta, yet we hear nothing of him in Pausanias' account of this war. Pausanias informs us, however, that his source for the later events of the Second Messenian War, Rhianos, had made Leotykhidas one of the two Lakedaimonian kings.<sup>27</sup> A Leotykhidas, we learn from Herodotos, had become king after the deposition of Damaratos towards the end of the reign of Kleomenes, who died not long before the battle of Marathon.<sup>28</sup> Rhianos' apparent failure to mention the other Lakedaimonian king can easily be explained by the fact that Kleomenes had gone into voluntary exile immediately after Leotykhidas became king and died soon after returning to Sparta.<sup>29</sup> While much of the military action recorded by Pausanias takes place before the battle of the Great Trench, Rhianos appears to have dealt only with the final phase of the Second Messenian War, the siege of Eira, in which Kleomenes would not have figured.<sup>30</sup> Arguing from a passage of Tyrtaios which made Theopompos king in the First War and a king list that placed Anaxidamos second after Theopompos, combined with Tyrtaios' implication that those who fought in the Second Messenian War were the grandsons of those who had fought in the first, Pausanias rejects Rhianos' naming of Leotykhidas as king at that time and instead calculates that Anaxandros and Anaxidamos must have reigned during the Second Messenian War.<sup>31</sup> Because any Lakedaimonian king lists known to Pausanias are likely to reflect Olympiad-based chronological systems which were in severe disarray by his time, however, the record of the Hellenistic Rhianos must be preferred over the spurious calculations of Pausanias.<sup>32</sup>

Around 494 BC Kleomenes, giving up a plan to invade Argos by land because the sacrifices were unfavourable for crossing the River Erasinos, took to the sea and landed in 'the district of Tiryns and Nauplion', where he is likely to have been well received. I have shown elsewhere that a passage from Bakkhylides suggests that Plutarch was right in referring to the *douloi* ('subjects' rather than 'slaves' in this context) whom Herodotos says participated in the government

of Argos following Kleomenes' victory at Sepeia as 'the best of the *perioikoi*', that is, the elite among the citizens of the communities which surrounded Argos. Those who were later expelled from Argos by the sons of those slaughtered by Kleomenes at Sepeia and took refuge at Tiryns are thus likely to have been pro-Spartan aristocrats rather than the members of a servile social order.<sup>33</sup> Strabo, following Theopompos, reports that at some unspecified time the Argives forced the inhabitants of both Tiryns and Nauplion to flee; while the former moved to Epidauros, the latter settled in Messenia.<sup>34</sup> After the end of the Second Messenian War, Pausanias informs us, the Messenians of Pylos and Mothone fled, and the Lakedaimonians gave Mothone to the Nauplians because they had been dispossessed by the Argives and because of their pro-Spartan sympathies.<sup>35</sup> Together, these passages suggest that the Nauplians welcomed Kleomenes c.494 BC, but were later driven out by the Argives and, since they had consistently supported the Spartans against the Argives and because the Spartans could count on them to bolster their domination of the defeated Messenians, were handed possession of Mothone when its inhabitants fled at the end of the Second Messenian War. Herodotos, it must also be kept in mind, records that Aristagoras of Miletos, when asking Kleomenes for support in freeing the Greeks of Ionia from the Persians, referred to the Messenians, Arkadians and Argives as rivals of the Lakedaimonians.<sup>36</sup> While Kleomenes can be associated with events which seem to have taken place in Argolis before the end of the Second Messenian War, Herodotos thus implies that the Lakedaimonians were engaged in warfare against the Messenians during his reign.

Tyrtaios, writing during the Second Messenian War, which we have found is likely to have ended c.490 BC and since it is said to have lasted for 20 years probably began c.510, records that the First War was fought by 'the fathers of our fathers'.<sup>37</sup> If Tyrtaios intended to indicate an interwar period of two generations, each of no more than 40 years, this would place the end of the First War c.590 BC at the earliest. Perhaps employing a little poetic licence in order to emphasise the familial significance of participation in the conflict, Tyrtaios could easily have represented an interval of as much as 80 years as signifying only two generations. Conversely, Isokrates has the young Spartan king Arkhidamos speak of 400 years of Messenian subjection, which may be based upon an arbitrary allocation of 40 years to each generation.<sup>38</sup> According to Plutarch, the Theban Epaminondas claimed to have 'liberated Messenia after 230 years of subjection'.<sup>39</sup> As Shaw points out, Herodotos and his sources variably assigned 23, 26, 39 or 40 years to a generation.<sup>40</sup> The figures of both Isokrates' Arkhidamos and Plutarch's Epaminondas may thus have been based upon an accepted number of ten generations for Spartan dominion over the Messenians. On the basis of Epaminondas' statement, Parker deduces that we could guess c.620–600 for the Second Messenian War and, interpreting Tyrtaios' 'fathers of our fathers' statement literally, around 690–670 for the earlier conflict.<sup>41</sup> While Parker argues convincingly that Tyrtaios should not be dated so early as the seventh century BC, the chronological position of this poet ultimately depends upon his association with the Second Messenian War, so his lifespan cannot be used to date that war.<sup>42</sup> Parker assumes, too, that Epaminondas considered the subjection

of Messenia, which ended in around 370 BC, to have begun 230 years earlier with the Second Messenian War,<sup>43</sup> but it is more natural to suppose that he meant that it had begun with the First Messenian War, which would thus have broken out c.600 BC.<sup>44</sup> Again, there is reason to believe that the Second Messenian War began late in the sixth century.

### **Late Archaic Eleian chronology**

It is clear that reports in the ancient texts of events involving Pantaleon and his two sons do not constitute convincing evidence that a people called the Pisaians or Pisatans were the original custodians of Olympia.<sup>45</sup> Nor, on the other hand, does the hypothesis seem convincing that such figures were simply fabricated out of thin air by the Pisatans of the 360s BC and then accepted as historical when the conflict within Eleia came to an end after the Eleian–Arkadian War. Having proposed a revised chronology for the Archaic Peloponnese in general, we can now investigate the question of what dates might plausibly be assigned to the events that inspired these reports. If these events can be reconciled with the evidence that we have for a later time, they might significantly augment our knowledge of Eleian history.

Construction of the great temple of Zeus at Olympia is likely to have commenced following ‘general improvements to the site . . . in the 470s’ and innovations to the games introduced around the time of the Olympic festival of 472, and thus soon after the Eleian synoikism of 471 BC.<sup>46</sup> The temple had been completed by the time the Lakedaimonians dedicated a golden shield, placed on its apex, from the spoils of their victory over the Athenians at Tanagra in 457 BC.<sup>47</sup> Its central feature, Pheidias’ famous statue of Zeus Olympios, appears to have been created during the 430s.<sup>48</sup> According to Pausanias, ‘the temple and the statue in honour of Zeus were made from spoils when the Eleians put down Pisa in war, along with all of the *perioikoi* who had joined with the Pisaians in revolt.’ Since Pausanias additionally informs us that ‘an epigram written under the feet of Zeus is also witness to the fact that Pheidias worked on the statue’, he is clearly referring here to the same temple and statue securely dated to the fifth century BC.<sup>49</sup>

In reporting that ‘the Pisaians and their king Pantaleon, the son of Omphalion, raised an army from among their neighbours and held the Olympic festival in place of the Eleians’, Pausanias allocates this event to the 34th Olympiad. In Ol. 48, he further reports, suspecting that Damophon, the first of Pantaleon’s sons, was planning a revolution against them, the Eleians invaded ‘Pisaia’ but agreed to withdraw after Damophon offered ‘entreaties and oaths’. Although a reconciliation was achieved when Damophon died, the Pisaians led by Pantaleon’s second son, Pyrrhos, joined by the Makistians and Skillountians and, of the other *perioikoi*, the Dyspontians, revolted from the Eleians, but were defeated. The Eleians then captured and ruined the cities of the Pisaians and their allies, and it was from the spoils of this war that the temple and statue of Zeus were constructed.<sup>50</sup> This last notice is the only one of these passages of Pausanias that relates the supposed conflict between the Eleians and Pisaians to an event we can date independently of the Olympiad



numbers he provides. Scholars, regardless, have generally insisted that this war in which the Pisaian and their allies led by Pyrrhos were driven out, assigned by Pausanias to some time after Ol. 48 (conventionally converted to 588 BC), was fought around 570 BC.<sup>51</sup> As noted above, however, it is unsound to rely upon a ready conversion of Pausanias' Olympiad numbers to dates in the Julian calendar. Pausanias' wording suggests that construction of the temple commenced soon after the end of the war, so this conflict appears to belong to the very beginning of the Classical period.<sup>52</sup> Pausanias, in addition, records a tradition that makes Pantaleon responsible for building the sanctuary of Demeter Khamyne. The remains of this structure, discovered in 2006 130m north-east of the Olympic stadium and excavated soon afterwards, appear to date from the early Classical period.<sup>53</sup>

From the time of the legendary Iphitos, Pausanias reports, one member of the clan of the Oxyliids presided over the Olympic festival. At the 50th Olympiad, however, 'they selected by lot (ἐλαχον) two men from among all of the Eleians'.<sup>54</sup> Conventional dating would place the selection of these *hellenodikai* ('judges of the Greeks') 49 Olympiads after the supposed first Olympic games in 776 BC, and thus in 580 BC. Shaw concludes, however, that this reform is in fact likely to have occurred 108 years later, in 472 BC, and in her view it is:

possible that the Eleian archivist who set the appointment of the two Ἑλλανοδῖκαι in Ol. 50 may not have included the 27 unrecorded Olympiads referred to by other Olympic historians – Aristodemos and Phlegon. Added to Ol. 50, these 27 then yield Ol. 77, the period when, according to Pausanias, the games were reordered.<sup>55</sup>

The conclusion of a conflict with the so-called Pisaian would provide a credible context for a reform of the administration of the Olympic games, and a change to two *hellenodikai* instead of one judge may reflect a reconciliation between two opposing sides. The construction of a new temple of Zeus Olympios would also sit well with a reform of the sanctuary and festival after a period of discord. The war that provided the funds from which the temple was built would thus have been, as Pausanias reports, the same conflict in which Pyrrhos had led the 'Pisaian' forces. If so, since Pyrrhos was the son of the Pantaleon who according to Strabo had led forces from Eleia to support the Messenians against the Spartans during the Second Messenian War,<sup>56</sup> we would have even further reason to believe that this war took place around the turn of the fifth century BC.

Pausanias gives no Olympiad number for the defeat of Pyrrhos, possibly because he was aware that a number which related to the period just before the temple of Zeus was built would not sit comfortably with that which he had already allocated to an event involving Pyrrhos' older brother Damophon. As a result, he gives us no useful indication of how much earlier the confrontation of Damophon with the Eleians, which he assigns to Ol. 48, took place. Since construction of the temple of Zeus Olympios began soon after the synoikism of Elis in 471 BC, however, the war involving Pyrrhos during which the funds used to build the temple were acquired would have ended not long before the synoikism, perhaps

in the years between the previous Olympiad and that of 472 BC.<sup>57</sup> The activities of Pantaleon's sons in the generation after Anaxilas' conquest of Zankle in 489 BC would provide a context for reforms such as the change to two *hellanodikai* in Ol. 77 and the Eleian synoikism of Ol. 77.2 (471 BC).<sup>58</sup> If Pausanias' Ol. 50 for the selection of two *hellanodikai* is equivalent to Diodoros' Ol. 77 (472 BC), Pausanias Ol. 48 for the confrontation with Damophon suggests that it would have taken place during Diodoros' Ol. 75 (480 BC). The Eleians were excused from participation in the defence of Greece in 480 BC because of their responsibility to honour the god at Olympia, entirely understandable if they were dealing with disturbances at home in connection with the sanctuary.<sup>59</sup>

A strict adherence to the *relative* chronology of Pausanias would entail that Pantaleon's presidency of the Olympic festival had taken place twelve Olympiads earlier than the confrontation of Damophon, and thus in 528 BC. Shaw thinks it likely that Pantaleon 'brought on his Olympic coup closer to the period suggested by Ol. 26 in a scheme where Anaxilas' conquest of Zankle is assigned to Ol. 29', which would place it about 501 BC and thus in the middle of a Second Messenian War fought from around 510–490 BC.<sup>60</sup> It is quite conceivable, however, that Pantaleon presided at Olympia in 528 BC as a young man, led a force to assist the Messenians two decades or more later and had sons who were active from 480 BC. Not only is it possible to reconcile the reports in Pausanias of events in Eleia involving the Omphalionids with the other evidence that we have for the late Archaic and early Classical periods, it seems that, if they are to be considered historical at all, this is where they must be placed.

### The Omphalionids

In the light of this revised chronology, we can now address the question posed at the end of Chapter 3 concerning what might be the true significance of the reports in certain ancient texts of periods of Pisaian/Pisatan management of the Olympic festival. Strabo records that the Messenians, revolting from the Spartans, took 'the Argives, Eleians and Pisatans as allies', adding that King Aristokrates was the *strategos* of the Arkadians and Pantaleon that of the Pisatans.<sup>61</sup> Pausanias, similarly, lists the Eleians and Arkadians among the allies of the Messenians early in the Second Messenian War, adding that they also had help from Argos and Sikyon.<sup>62</sup> While Strabo acknowledges the contemporary poet Tyrtaios as his source for this information, Pausanias makes it clear that Rhianos, whom he consulted for events towards the end of the Second Messenian War, did not cover this early period.<sup>63</sup> Instead, he too seems to have used Tyrtaios. He quotes from Tyrtaios concerning events in the First Messenian War and the causes of the Second, and seems disappointed that the poet does not name the Lakedaimonian kings who reigned in the Second War. Pausanias also implies that Tyrtaios was his source for the battle at the Boar's Tomb, early in the Second War, and it is in his account of this battle that he names the Eleians, Arkadians, Argives and Sikyonians as allies of the Messenians and also says that some of the Lepreans supported the Lakedaimonians. Pausanias reports

Tyrtaios' part in the fighting, depicts him encouraging the Lakedaimonians after their loss and also refers to him again later.<sup>64</sup> Because of their apparent reliance upon a contemporary source for the Second Messenian War, these passages from Strabo and Pausanias deserve our serious consideration.<sup>65</sup>

If the accounts of Strabo and Pausanias were both entirely faithful to Tyrtaios' record, on the other hand, we would expect the two lists of allies to be identical, yet in Strabo's account the Pisatans appear in place of Pausanias' Sikyonians. Tyrtaios, however, would have recorded what he observed as a participant in the war: that certain of the Arkadians (those led by Aristokrates, king of Orkhomenos) and certain of the Eleians (those led by Pantaleon), along with the Argives and Sikyonians, supported the Messenians. Strabo, who believed that a people called 'the Pisatans' had existed from an early period, may then have 'corrected' the text of Tyrtaios to make Pantaleon a Pisatan rather than an Eleian general and omit the Sikyonians. Whatever the case, these texts certainly imply that Pantaleon led a force from Eleia into Messenia in order to support the Messenians in their rebellion against the Spartans known as the Second Messenian War.

The ancient texts use a variety of terms to describe Pantaleon, the son of Omphalion. Pausanias says in one passage that he was a tyrant of Pisa and in another calls him the *basileus* ('king') of the Pisaians.<sup>66</sup> Strabo, on the other hand, implies that Pantaleon was merely a *strategos* ('general').<sup>67</sup> According to the fourth-century BC Herakleides Pontikos, who is our earliest source for this figure and seems to have taken his information from Aristotle's lost *Constitution of the Eleians*, 'Pantaleon was a king among these people, outrageous and harsh. When the elders came to him, he castrated them and forced them to eat up their own testicles.'<sup>68</sup> Castration, as Grote points out, 'was a practice thoroughly abhorrent both to the feelings and to the customs of Greece'.<sup>69</sup> In the passage from Herodotos which Grote cites to support this observation, the act is directly associated with Periander, tyrant of Korinth. One of the adjectives which Herakleides uses to describe Pantaleon (ὕβριστής), furthermore, is reminiscent of the language which both Herodotos (ὕβρισαντος) and Pausanias (ὕβρισαντα) use in relation to Pheidon, the tyrant of Argos.<sup>70</sup>

Aristotle informs us that Pheidon was a *basileus* who became a tyrant, and the same may be true of Pantaleon, since an inscription from Olympia refers to magistrates called *toi basilaes* ('the kings').<sup>71</sup> Although Sokrates appears to have distinguished between the *basileus* and the *tyrannos*, the ancient Greeks did not always do so, and until the fourth century BC 'the hostility is to monarchy as such and it could make no practical difference whether the monarch was called king or tyrant'.<sup>72</sup> Herakleides' terminology recalls the traditional, aristocratic view of both kingship and tyranny, and we can assume that the story of the outrage committed upon 'the elders' (who were perhaps identical to the *proxenoi* who constituted the Olympic Council<sup>73</sup>) was a manifestation of this view. Pausanias' report that Pantaleon put to death and confiscated the property of a certain Khamynos who had plotted against him suggests to Höhle that 'the Pisatan rulers often behaved autocratically and like tyrants'.<sup>74</sup> This impression, however, may have been encouraged by oligarchically-inclined ancient writers

outraged at the disrespectful behaviour of Pantaleon and his sons (collectively 'the Omphalionids') towards the traditional Eleian authorities.

According to Aristotle, tyrants arose:

from the people and the masses against the nobles, in order that the people might not be wronged by them. And this is apparent from what has happened: for the majority of tyrants have generally arisen, so to speak, from being demagogues, having become trusted by opposing the nobles.<sup>75</sup>

While Glotz assumes from this passage that the people used tyranny as 'a battering ram with which to demolish the citadel of the oligarchs', Cawkwell argues that 'the people did not come into it. The age was the age of dynasts. Thucydides was right, and Aristotle and the fourth century generally and all his latter-day satellites wrong.'<sup>76</sup> Even if Cawkwell is himself right, however, both Herakleides and Aristotle belonged to the fourth century, and Pausanias' source may have come from the same period. If 'the fourth century' could identify tyrants in general as leaders of the people, it could also make popular leaders into tyrants. Pantaleon's decision to call his first son 'Damophon', which means something like 'voice of the people', may signify that he courted favour with the *damos*. Despite the rarity of this name in Eleia and the Peloponnese in general, its Attic and Ionic form, Demophon, is well known among the Athenians of the fifth century BC.<sup>77</sup> Pantaleon may thus have been a popular leader of the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC to whom fourth-century writers such as Herakleides attributed the characteristics of a tyrant because he challenged the nobility. Perhaps, too, it is in the context of Omphalionid influence over the sanctuary that Olympic victors who lacked 'a traditional aristocratic heritage' first appeared in 490 BC.<sup>78</sup>

If Pantaleon was the leader of a popular movement among the Eleians, we must now ask, who were its members? Pausanias records that:

When Pyrrhos, the son of Pantaleon, succeeded his brother Damophon as king, the Pisaians willingly began a war with the Eleians, revolting from them along with the Makistians and Skillountians, who were from Triphylia, and of the other *perioikoi* the Dyspontians: and the relationship of these to the Pisaians was particularly strong, and they kept in mind that their founder had been Dysponteus, the son of Oinomaos.<sup>79</sup>

Since Pausanias believed in the existence of a *polis* called 'Pisa', we need not take too seriously either his implication that all three communities he mentions were simply the allies of 'the Pisaians' or his apparent description of the Dyspontians, at least, as *perioikic*. He may have meant, in fact, that they were *perioikic* in a purely geographical sense: these communities were the neighbours of a supposed city of Pisa. The Makistians, however, as subject allies of the Eleians since the defeat of Pheidon early in the sixth century BC, should probably be counted here as allies of the pro-Omphalionid Eleians.<sup>80</sup> The Skillountians were believed to

have contributed towards outfitting the temple of Hera at Olympia, most likely an earlier temple of Zeus erected around 600 BC,<sup>81</sup> and at some time in the fifth or perhaps the early fourth century they donated cultic equipment at Olympia. Their political status is unclear, but, despite Pausanias' location of Skillous in Triphylia, they should probably be counted among the *perioikoi* of the Eleians rather than their allies.<sup>82</sup> Notices of the victories in early Olympiads (designated Ol. 2 and 27) of 'Antimakhos, an Eleian from Dysponton' and 'Daippos Krotoniates the boxer, an Eleian from Dysponton', along with Strabo's inclusion of Dysponton among the eight cities of Pisatis, suggest that the Dyspontians constituted an Eleian community whose members were among the so-called *Pisaioi* themselves rather than their allies.<sup>83</sup> The text of Pausanias, though we need not assume that his list is exhaustive, thus encourages us to believe that the forces led by the Omphalionid Pyrrhos included contingents from communities within Eleia of various status, Eleian, perioikic and allied.

It is possible that some of the other 'Minyan' cities to the south of the Alpheios, aside from the Makistians, took part in this conflict. The fact that Pausanias locates Phrixa within the land of Pisa may not signify much.<sup>84</sup> Herodotos, however, reports that the Eleians sacked most of the six Minyan communities during his lifetime, perhaps soon after his birth a few years before Xerxes' invasion in 480 BC, so in the late 480s or early 470s BC.<sup>85</sup> In saying that 'most' of the six cities were sacked, Herodotos can only have meant that either four or five were and either one or two were not. Lepreon, in the far south of the region, and Pyrgos, perhaps already synoikised into Lepreon,<sup>86</sup> may be the exceptions. Pausanias' report that some of the Lepreans (Λεπρεατῶν τινες) fought on the Spartan side in the Second Messenian War out of hatred for 'the Eleians',<sup>87</sup> presumably the members of the Omphalionid faction who supported the Messenians, suggests that the Leprean state took no part in the conflict within Eleia. Makiston, Phrixa, Epeion and Noudion would then have been the cities which were sacked. Aside from Makiston, we have no indication of which particular Eleians sacked them, though we could assume that at least some of the remaining three communities took the Omphalionid side. The events which Herodotos reports, on the other hand, may have occurred later in his lifetime,<sup>88</sup> so we cannot be certain that, apart from Makiston, any of the 'Minyan' communities were involved.

Once resistance to the Spartans had collapsed at the end of the Second Messenian War, Pausanias reports, some of the defeated Messenians fled to Kyllene, where they spent the winter before joining Anaxilas of Rhegion in the conquest of Zankle, which we have seen occurred in 489 BC.<sup>89</sup> During their sojourn at Kyllene, 'the Eleians' provided them with both a market and money to spend in it.<sup>90</sup> The generosity of these particular Eleians towards the Messenian refugees would make more sense if Kyllene were politically close to the Omphalionids, who had supported the Messenians during their rebellion against the Spartans.<sup>91</sup> It should not surprise us, either, if a population whose livelihood was dependent upon maritime occupations was sympathetic towards a people who had opposed the oligarchically-inclined Spartans.<sup>92</sup>

As Cartledge points out, Elis was 'significantly the first refuge of Damaratos', the Lakedaimonian king whom Herodotos reports fled there after his deposition on pretence of making his way to Delphi but was pursued by his compatriots and escaped to Zakynthos.<sup>93</sup> Since these events seem to have occurred in the late 490s BC and thus well before the Eleian synoikism, the 'Elis' which Damaratos fled to must have been the region rather than the city, and his journey overland from Sparta would have taken him along the course of the Alpheios to one of the three Eleian ports (the mouth of the Alpheios, Pheia or Kyllene), from which he would have embarked for Zakynthos. Although for Cartledge Damaratos' flight to Elis is significant because it suggests Eleian hostility to Sparta in this period, it may reveal deeper political allegiances, since Damaratos appears to have been less antagonistic towards popular government than his opponent Kleomenes, whose attempt to put an end to the reforms of Kleisthenes in Athens he had helped frustrate.<sup>94</sup> After Kleomenes' intervention had made possible the adoption of an aristocratic constitution in Argos,<sup>95</sup> in addition, he was brought to trial for his actions, most likely by his political opponents, the members of Damaratos' faction.<sup>96</sup> The flight of Damaratos through the Alpheios valley and maritime Eleia suggests that he expected to be well received in these districts, perhaps because of his sympathy for the popular cause.

The pro-Omphalionid communities, Eleian, perioikic and allied, thus appear concentrated in the coastal regions of Eleia, the Alpheios valley and perhaps the district around Mount Lapithas. It is with this understanding that we might interpret the notice of Eusebios that because of an Eleian war with Akhaian Dyme the 'Pisaian' held the 28th Olympiad.<sup>97</sup> Although the date which this Olympiad number signifies is unclear, the conflict referred to may have been associated with the late-Archaic synoikism of Dyme.<sup>98</sup> If the 'official' Eleians were concentrated in the north of the region, they may have been obliged to deal with a dispute on their northern frontier, leaving the Eleians of the Omphalionid faction in the south to preside over the festival. Eusebios' report may thus concern the same episode as the passage of Pausanias in which Pantaleon seizes the presidency of the Olympic festival.<sup>99</sup>

Herakleides' record of Pantaleon's 'outrageous' behaviour towards the *presbeis* seems to reflect continuing tension between the Omphalionids and the remaining Eleians, who must have continued to control the Olympic Council.<sup>100</sup> Similar tensions may have brought about the confrontation with Pantaleon's son Damophon, which was resolved without any actual combat taking place.<sup>101</sup> It was during the open civil conflict which broke out under the leadership of Damophon's brother Pyrrhos,<sup>102</sup> it seems, that the 'official' Eleians captured and sacked Makiston, Skillous and Dysponton and one side or the other perhaps ravaged Phrixa, Epeion and Noudion.<sup>103</sup> The destruction of Dysponton seems complete, since most of its people left their homes to settle in Epidamnos and Apollonia on the Adriatic,<sup>104</sup> and we hear nothing more of this community. The Makistians and Skillountians, on the other hand, must have survived the conflict, since the former revolted from the Eleians at the approach of the Peloponnesian army led by King Agis in 401 BC and, regardless of Pausanias' strong words about their fate, the latter are the subject of an inscription dated to the third quarter of the fifth century BC.<sup>105</sup>



Despite the dramatic finality implied by certain translations of a passage of Pausanias, we must also keep in mind, this passage does not directly ascribe an ultimate victory to either side.<sup>106</sup> Elsewhere, it is true, Pausanias records that the statue and temple of Zeus were made from the spoils when the Eleians defeated Pisa and its perioikic allies.<sup>107</sup> A passage of his work which belongs to an entirely different context, however, sheds light upon the ways in which he or his sources may sometimes have interpreted post-conflict dedications of statues of Zeus. The largest of the bronze statues of Zeus in the Altis, Pausanias tells us, was dedicated by the Eleians from the war against the Arkadians, but an inscription on what appears to have been the base of this statue suggests that it was more likely a thanks-offering for the peaceful resolution of this fourth-century conflict than a celebration of victory.<sup>108</sup> There is some evidence to suggest that the bitter internal struggle involving the 'Pisaians' was similarly concluded by means of a rapprochement marked by a dedication on a large scale, that of the temple and statue of Olympian Zeus. Pausanias' story that the Pisatans and Eleians chose sixteen noble female elders, one from each of the Eleian communities still inhabited at that time, to bring about peace after the death of Damophon, appears in his text as a myth intended to explain the existence of a college of sixteen women who presided over the festival of the Heraia at Olympia.<sup>109</sup> Aside from its aetiological function, this myth may have drawn one of its elements, the report that the conflicts of the late Archaic and early Classical periods were resolved by means of reconciliation, from historical memory. Although Pausanias places this event after the death of Damophon, the ultimate conclusion of the conflict would provide a more convincing context. The selection by lot from 472 BC of two *hellanodikai* 'from all of the Eleians' to replace the one member of the Oxyliid clan who had previously judged the Olympic competitions further suggests a reconciliation between two parties.<sup>110</sup> The plunder accumulated by both sides in this conflict, perhaps, considering the difficulty of returning it to its original owners and the potentially negative effects on social cohesion which might arise if those who had taken it were allowed to keep it, was instead dedicated to Zeus and used to build the new temple.

The interpretation of the testimonies in the ancient texts for events involving Pantaleon the son of Omphalion and his two sons offered above supports a consistent narrative of late Archaic and early Classical Eleian political history, but it still leaves open the question of how these two violently opposed factions among the Eleians may have achieved a reconciliation. Fortunately, a text closer to the time when the events occurred offers a plausible solution to this problem. Herodotos' report that certain Eleian generals were banished for having arrived too late with the Eleian contingent for the battle of Plataiai in 479 BC suggests that there were serious divisions even among the 'official' Eleians.<sup>111</sup> Perhaps the generals had been reluctant to support the Spartans and their allies at Plataiai because their political sympathies lay elsewhere. Civil strife among the 'official' Eleians may soon have led to the defeat of the pro-Spartan, oligarchic party which had banished the generals, opening the way to achieving an amicable settlement with the group led by the Omphalionids. Those responsible for reconciling the Eleian communities also appear to have brought about the creation, through the act of synoikism, of the new, democratic *polis* of the Eleians.



**Notes**

- 1 Hdt. 6.127.3; Strabo 8.3.33; Paus. 6.22.2.
- 2 Andrewes 1949, 72.
- 3 Hdt. 6.125.1–5, 127.4; cf. 1.84.1–5.
- 4 Hdt. 6.129.1–5.
- 5 Shaw 2003, 81.
- 6 For a bibliography of the long debate over Pheidon's chronology, see Kōiv 2000, 2–3 n.13.
- 7 Strabo 8.3.33.
- 8 Strabo 8.3.30: μετὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην κατάλυσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων.
- 9 Paus. 4.11.1. Scholars have generally assigned the 'last defeat' mentioned by Strabo to a later conflict, but the word from Strabo translated above as 'last' (ἐσχατος) may refer to the final defeat of the Messenians in the First Messenian War, following which they remained in subjection, apart from times of revolt, for centuries to come.
- 10 Paus. 4.4.4–8, 5.10; 6.22.2.
- 11 Paus. 4.5.10, 13.7, 15.1, 23.4.
- 12 Shaw 2003; 2009. As Walter 2003 explains, Shaw's radical revision rests 'upon a liberation from Olympiad numbering and the constructions connected with it'.
- 13 Shaw 2003, 13–116, 100–11; 2009, 275–8.
- 14 Paus. 4.23.4, 6–10; Shaw 2003, 13; cf. Wallace 1954, 32.
- 15 Hdt. 6.22.1–24.1; 7.164.1; Thuc. 6.4.5–6. 'Messana' is the West Greek equivalent of Messene, the earlier name of the region later known as 'Messenia'.
- 16 Shaw 2003, 13; 2009, 275–6; cf. Robinson 1946, 13–20 and plate 5. Shaw uses italics to indicate doubt concerning Julian dates resulting from the ready conversion of Olympiad numbers.
- 17 Shaw 2003, 242.
- 18 Paus. 5.4.5.
- 19 Shaw 2003, 69, cf. 67–8.
- 20 Huxley 2006, 149; cf. Shaw 2003, 66–71.
- 21 Shaw 2003, 70.
- 22 Shaw 2003, 100–44.
- 23 Shaw 2003, 146–238.
- 24 *JG* V.i, 1562; *ML* 22; Plato *Laws* 3.692D, 698E; Strabo 8.4.10; Paus. 5.24.3; Shaw 2003, 112–16, 244–5; cf. Jeffery 1949, 26–30; Wallace 1954, 32.
- 25 Parker 1991, 28–31.
- 26 Huxley 2006, 149–50.
- 27 Paus. 4.6.2, 15.2.
- 28 Hdt. 6.67.1–2, 74.1–75.3.
- 29 Hdt. 6.74.1–75.3.
- 30 Paus. 4.15.4–24.3.
- 31 Paus. 4.6.5, 15.2.
- 32 Shaw 2003, 112, 132. Scholars who rely upon Olympiad chronology, such as Forrest 1995, following p. 189, often postulate an earlier Leotykhidas; cf. Parker 1991, 36.
- 33 Bakkhyl. 11.59–81; Hdt. 6.76.1–77.1; Plut. *Mor.* 245F, Bourke 2011b, 125–48.
- 34 Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 383 from Strabo 8.6.11. Similarly, in the wake of the First Messenian War, the Spartans appear to have settled the Dryopes of Argolid Asine at what now became Messenian Asine: Hdt. 8.73.2; Strabo 8.6.11; Paus. 3.7.4; 4.8.3, 14.3, 15.8, 24.1, 4, 27.8. 34.9; cf. Shipley 1997, 243–4; 2004, 559.313; Luraghi 2002, 67.
- 35 Paus. 4.18.1, 23.1, 24.4, 27.8, 35.2; cf. Shipley 1997, 234–5; 2004, 364–5.319; Luraghi 2002, 67.
- 36 Hdt. 5.49.8; Shaw 2003, 112, 124.
- 37 Tyrtaios fr. 5 in West 1972; Paus. 4.15.2; cf. Diod. 15.66.4.
- 38 Isok. *Arkhidamos* 27.

- 39 Parker 1991, 25 with n.2; Plut. *Mor.* 194B.
- 40 Shaw 2003, 32.
- 41 Paus. 4.5.10, 13.7; Parker 1991, 26; cf. West 1972, 152–3.
- 42 Parker 1991, 35; Shaw 2003, 125–33; see, e.g. Arnheim 1977, 74, who dates the Second Messenian War on the basis of a date for Tyrtaios.
- 43 Parker 1991, 26.
- 44 Shaw 2003, 250; cf. 61, 82–3, 91–9.
- 45 This volume, pp. 58–62.
- 46 Barringer 2005, 214; cf. Shaw 2003, 98.
- 47 Thuc. 1.108.1–3; Diod. 11.80.2, 6; Paus. 5.10.4; Robertson 1981, 80; Stewart 1983, 133; Morgan 1990, 18; Jacquemin 1999, 147; Roy 2002b, 260; Hurwit 2005, 136; Barringer 2005, 213–14.
- 48 Gardner 1929, 280–5; Richter 1950, 222–6; Lawrence 1972, 215–27; Morgan 1990, 18; Lapatin 2001, 79 with nn.179–80; Hurwit 2005, 140–1; cf. Bourke 2011a, 16; Burton 2016, 76 with n.9. Ancient sources include Philokh. *FGrH* 328 F121; 134.8–15; 135.5–7; Schol. Ar. *Peace* 605 (Dübner 1877, 189–90); Strabo 8.3.30; Dio. Chrys. *Or.* 12.50; Paus. 5.4.5, 11.3, 10, 14.5, 25.1, 26.3; Plut. *Per.* 31.5; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.53.4–5.
- 49 Paus. 5.10.2.
- 50 Paus. 5.6.4, 10.2, 16.5–6; 6.21.1, 22.1–4.
- 51 See e.g. Kahrstedt 1928, 173; Viedebantt 1930, 34; Meyer 1950, 1751–2; Hönle 1972, 18; Walter 1993, 117; Siewert 1991a, 69; 1994a, 29; 1994b, 262; 2001, 247; Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 28; Roy 1999, 153; 2002a, 238; 2004, 489; Ruggeri 2004, 15, 66.
- 52 Paus. 5.10.2: ἡνῖκα (‘when’).
- 53 Paus. 6.21.1–2; *AR* 2007/08, 41; 2009/10, 54.
- 54 Paus. 5.9.4. On a single *diaitater* as judge in earlier times, Minon 5 = *NIO* 2; cf. Taita 1999, 155 n.15; Siewert 2006, 49.
- 55 Shaw 2003, 96.
- 56 Strabo 8.4.10; Paus. 6.22.2.
- 57 Paus. 5.10.2; 6.22.4.
- 58 Diod. 11.54.1; Shaw 2003, 96.
- 59 Diod. 8.1.2–3; this volume, p. 115.
- 60 Shaw 2003, 94.
- 61 Strabo 8.4.10. In order to avoid any prior assumptions, both Meineke’s emendation of ‘Eleians’ to ‘Arkadians’ and Jones’ insertion of ‘and Arkadians’ after ‘Pisatans’ have been set aside here: see Jones 1927, 120 nn.2, 3.
- 62 Paus. 4.15.7, cf. 17.2, 7.
- 63 Paus. 4.6.2.
- 64 Paus. 4.6.5, 13.6, 14.5, 15.2, 6–8, 16.2, 6, 18.3.
- 65 Thommen 2013, 338 dismisses the report at Strabo 8.3.30 of what he calls the cooperation of the Eleians and Lakedaimonians in the Second Messenian War as ‘a construction going back to Ephoros in the fourth century BC’. He thus concludes from the passages of Strabo and Pausanias discussed here that the Eleians ‘were in later times apparently claimed by both sides’. As maintained on p. 70 in this volume, however, the passage at Strabo 8.3.30 seems to refer to the *First* Messenian War.
- 66 Paus. 6.21.1
- 67 Strabo 8.4.10.
- 68 Herakl. Pont. *Peri Politeion* VI HAEION, *FHG* II, 213.6; Roy 2015, 152.
- 69 Grote 1907 I, 14, cf. 4; Hes. *Theog.* 160–82; Hdt. 3.48.2–4; 8.105.1–106.4; Arist. *Pol.* 5.8.12, 1311b.4–5; Apollod. *Lib.* 1.1.4.
- 70 Hdt. 6.127.3; Paus. 6.22.2.
- 71 Arist. *Pol.* 5.8.4, 1310b.25; Minon 20 = *hO* 2.
- 72 Andrewes 1956, 26, cf. 20–30.
- 73 This volume, pp. 88–92.

- 74 Hönle 1972, 40.
- 75 Arist. *Pol.* 5.8.2–3, 1310b.13–17.
- 76 Glotz 1965, 116, cf. 107–15; de Ste. Croix 1981, 281–3; Cawkwell 1995, 73, 86.
- 77 Zoumbaki 2005, 139–40.18; *LGPNI* (1987), II (1994), IIIa (1997), IIIB (2000), IV (2005). Paus. 2.4.3 mentions a Damophon among the pre-Dorian kings of Korinth.
- 78 Evangelos 2004, 44.
- 79 Paus. 6.22.4.
- 80 Strabo 8.3.30, 33; cf. Hdt. 4.148.4; this volume, pp. 110–11.
- 81 Paus. 5.16.1, cf. 17.1; Moustaka 2002, 302–6; this volume, pp. 38–9.
- 82 Paus. 5.6.4, 16.1, 22.4; Minon 46 = *IvO* 930; Siewert 1991b.10; this volume, pp. 89–90, 111.
- 83 Strabo 8.3.32; Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH* 257 F 4, 6; Steph. Byz. s.v. Δυσπώντιον; Moretti nos. 2, 38, 39; Hönle 1972, 26.
- 84 Paus. 6.21.6.
- 85 Hdt. 4.148.4. Herodotos' lifespan: Burn 1972, 14.
- 86 Strabo 8.3.22, 30; this volume, p. 32.
- 87 Paus. 4.15.8.
- 88 This volume, pp. 110, 111.
- 89 This volume, pp. 70–1.
- 90 Paus. 4.23.5–10.
- 91 Strabo 8.4.10.
- 92 Cf. Roy 1997, 3.
- 93 Hdt. 6.70.1–2; Cartledge 1979, 205, cf. 204.
- 94 Hdt. 5.74.1–75.3, cf. 69.1–73.2; Cartledge 1979, 143.
- 95 Bourke 2011b, 137–48; this volume, pp. 72–3.
- 96 Hdt. cf. 6.51, 6.61.1, 64–66.3; Hooker 1989, 124; cf. Cartledge 1979, 289.
- 97 Euseb. *Chron.* Schöne I, 198.8–10.
- 98 Strabo 8.3.2, 11; Paus. 7.17.6–7; Steph. Byz. s.v. Δύμη; cf. Moggi 1976, 121–5; Morgan 2000, 209.
- 99 Paus. 6.22.2.
- 100 This volume, pp. 88–92; Herakl. Pont. *Peri Politeion VI* ΗΛΕΙΩΝ, *FHG* 213.6.
- 101 Paus. 6.22.3.
- 102 Paus. 5.16.5–6.
- 103 Hdt. 4.148.4; Paus. 5.6.4; 6.22.4.
- 104 Strabo 8.3.32. It is unlikely that they were among the original colonists of these cities, which seem to have been founded around the end of the seventh century BC: Wilkes and Fischer-Hansen 2004, 328–31.
- 105 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25; Minon 22 = *IvO* 16.
- 106 Paus. 6.22.4: see, e.g. Jones 1954, 139; Pouilloux 2002, 71.
- 107 Paus. 5.10.2.
- 108 Paus. 5.24.4; Minon 51 = *IvO* 260; Swoboda 1905, 2405; Yalouris 1996, 41; Roy 2013, 468; this volume, p. 196.
- 109 Paus. 5.16.5–6.
- 110 Paus. 5.9.4; this volume, p. 75.
- 111 Hdt. 9.77.3.

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## 5 Synoikism and democracy

### The administration of Olympia

The officials called *proxenoi* in certain inscriptions in the Eleian dialect from Olympia appear to have been the representatives of the various communities which participated in the management of the sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> In the inscription known as *IvO* 10, dated to c.475 BC,<sup>2</sup> when the Anaitians and the Metapians conclude a fifty years' peace they agree that whichever of them breaks the oath is to be excluded from the altar of Zeus by the *proxenoi* and the *manteis*. Kahrstedt reasons that 'the *manteis* are cult personnel, so the *proxenoi* must be a managing authority of the temple and cult.'<sup>3</sup> In *IvO* 13, dated to around 475–450 BC,<sup>4</sup> the *proxenoi* appear in a similar role, and in *IvO* 11, probably from around 500–475 BC,<sup>5</sup> when the Khaladrians award a certain Deukalion their citizenship, he becomes *wisoproxenos* and *wisodamiorgos*. The latter, Kahrstedt plausibly assumes, confers upon Deukalion the right to become an official in Khaladrion. This seems correct, since if we ignore the Eleian dialectical feature of the initial digamma (represented here by *w*), it becomes obvious that *wisodamiorgos* is a compound of *isos*, and so implies an equal right to the office of *damiorgos*. The description *wisoproxenos* would then signify that Deukalion was granted the right to represent his new community in the management of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, where he would join an Olympic Council to which the Khaladrians, along with certain other communities, were entitled to contribute one or more members.<sup>6</sup>

The antiquity of such a council is difficult to establish. While *IvO* 11 seems to come from the quarter-century that preceded the synoikism, *IvO* 10 is dated closely to that event and *IvO* 13 may come from the same time or soon afterwards. None of these documents, it thus seems, dates from a period any earlier than that when, as suggested above, the 'official' Eleians were in a state of intermittent conflict with the Omphalionid grouping.<sup>7</sup> The dating of these documents makes it possible that the Olympic Council, rather than constituting an ancient body which had administered the sanctuary from its inception, appeared only late in the Archaic period. The oldest section of the council house at Olympia, too, seems to date from no earlier than the last quarter of the sixth century BC, and Doric elements incorporated into later building there do not seem to be the remnants of an earlier *bouleuterion*.<sup>8</sup> It remains possible, however, that in earlier



times the decisions of the Council were inscribed on less durable timber or clay, and that it met in an entirely different place, perhaps in the open air. A passage of Herakleides records that Pantaleon opposed 'the elders', who are likely to have been the members of a council which existed before he came into prominence.<sup>9</sup> Since the sanctuary must have been administered by a body of some kind, especially once the quadrennial festival began to be held early in the Archaic period, it remains likely that an Olympic Council existed from at least that time.

Kahrstedt unnecessarily assumes that 'the Eleians' constituted just one of the communities entitled to representation on the Olympic Council. *IvO* 9 is a *rhetra* ('agreement'), apparently inscribed in the first quarter of the fifth century, between the Eleians and another community, the *Ewaioi*.<sup>10</sup> Scholars once identified these Ewaiians with the Heraians of western Arkadia, who lived on the Alpheios upstream from Olympia, but this association has been called into serious doubt in more recent times and their actual identity can only be a matter for speculation.<sup>11</sup> In this document, penalties for infringement of a 100-year treaty are payable to Olympia.<sup>12</sup> This would be 'a plain absurdity', argues Kahrstedt, if the Eleians controlled the Olympic treasury, so they must have constituted only one – the *polis* of Elis – of a number of communities represented on the Council.<sup>13</sup> Since no single Eleian *polis* appears to have existed before 471 BC, however, the Eleians mentioned in the inscription are more likely to have been the inhabitants of various communities of both the Alpheios and Peneios valleys which were represented on the Council, perhaps numbering sixteen early in the fifth century.<sup>14</sup> Although already known collectively as 'the Eleians', each of these communities seems largely to have conducted its own affairs until the synoikism of the early fifth century BC.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, as *IvO* 9 suggests, the Eleians as a whole could make arrangements with non-Eleians. This would leave Kahrstedt's supposed 'plain absurdity' intact, since the other party to the treaty would still have agreed to pay any penalties for infringement to a treasury managed by the Eleians, but a large grouping of communities could have demanded such conditions of a small neighbouring *polis* in need of assistance.<sup>16</sup>

According to Siewert, Kahrstedt's interpretation is supported by the observation 'that (except for Sparta) only the Eleians and places neighbouring Olympia donated cult implements to the shrine of Zeus'.<sup>17</sup> Ten inscribed objects found in Olympia from the Archaic and Classical periods all appear intended for the consumption of wine in connection with the cult of Zeus. Apart from one bearing the name of the Spartans, all were dedicated to Zeus by communities within the region of Eleia. 'The Eleians' made five of these dedications, while the Amphidolians, the Ledrinians, the Skillountians and the Alasyes and Akroreians together made one each.<sup>18</sup> Siewert and Taeuber date the dedications of the Eleians to the years 525–500 BC, well before the synoikism of 471 BC, and Siewert dates those of the Amphidolians, Skillountians and Alasyes/Akroreians to some time in the fifth or early fourth centuries.<sup>19</sup> If Siewert is right about the dates of these last three dedications, they could come from the period after the Eleian War of c.400 BC, when the Amphidolians, Skillountians and Akroreians were all independent of the Eleians.<sup>20</sup>

Minon, however, is inclined to date the dedications of the Amphidolians and the Alasyes with the Akroreians from c.475–450 BC and that of the Skillountians to an unspecified time in the fifth century.<sup>21</sup> The retrograde script and the forms of the letters in the inscription on the wine-sieve dedicated by the Ledrinians, furthermore, suggest that it, too, came from well before the fourth century BC: Siewert places it in the second half of the sixth century;<sup>22</sup> and Minon again prefers the second quarter of the fifth.<sup>23</sup> Aside from the uncertainty about their dates, the dedications discussed by Siewert may well constitute the few surviving examples of many such dedications of the Archaic and Classical periods. The most that we can safely conclude from this evidence is that while in the last quarter of the sixth century BC the Eleians as a collective entity made a number of dedications to Zeus Olympios of equipment for the consumption of wine in a cultic context, certain non-Eleian communities within the region also dedicated such equipment at various times. The dedication of the Spartans, indeed, shows that even communities outside Eleia could contribute.<sup>24</sup> These inscriptions tell us little about the ethnicity or political status of the peoples of the region who, apart from the Eleians, donated cultic equipment to the central deity of Olympia.<sup>25</sup> Nor need they imply that these non-Eleian communities played any role in the administration of the sanctuary.<sup>26</sup>

Evidence from another part of Greece sheds light upon the probable relationship of the Eleian communities to the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios during the Archaic period. The Ionians of the Aegean coast of Asia Minor maintained in common a sanctuary of Poseidon, known as the Panionion, on the peninsula of Mykale, where they gathered regularly for the festival of the Panionia.<sup>27</sup> While the extant inscriptions from this site might appear to suggest an organisation charged exclusively with managing the sanctuary and its associated festival, such a body may also have taken on political functions.<sup>28</sup> The Ionians seem, in fact, to have constituted ‘a loose or incipient federal state’, the communities of which sent *probouloi* to meetings at the Panionion, where external relations were the most important topic.<sup>29</sup> While in Roebuck’s view this organisation constituted an expression of the ethnic consciousness of the Ionians,<sup>30</sup> Hall notes a dispute over ‘whether the league was primarily a religious or a political association’.<sup>31</sup> It may have fulfilled all three functions at once.

It is easy to discern a parallel between the ethnic, religious and political features of Ionia and those of Eleia. By the time the Homeric epics were written down, the inhabitants of most of the communities of the Peneios and Alpheios valleys appear to have been considered the members of a single Eleian *ethnos*.<sup>32</sup> This ethnicity may have found its expression in, and even have developed partly as a consequence of, participation in the cult of Zeus Olympios in the Kladeos valley. The institutions which the Eleians established to manage the sanctuary seem to have become the focus of the political relations of their various communities with each other and, as a single entity, with certain non-Eleian communities, and may thus allow us to credit them with establishing an early federal state.<sup>33</sup> Thales of Miletos, without success according to Herodotos, advised the Ionians to establish a single Ionian *bouleuterion* at Teos and, although still inhabiting the other *poleis*, to consider them as its demes. The relegation of the Ionian *poleis* to

the status of demes would have amounted to their transformation, by means of synoikism, into one unified *polis*.<sup>34</sup> Unlike the Ionian *poleis*, soon after the repulsion of the Persian invasion of Greece the Eleian communities were indeed able to achieve such a transformation. The decision to establish their political centre at a location other than the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia may reflect an influential contemporary political idea which found its literary expression in Herodotos' report of the proposal of Thales to establish the nucleus of the Ionians at Teos rather than at their traditional centre, the sanctuary of Poseidon.

There are other examples of *ethne* with common centres at shrines of Poseidon or Zeus. The sanctuary of Poseidon at Helike appears to have served as the centre for an association of the twelve Akhaian cities which, from the mid-sixth century BC, took on a political and military role. With the defeat of Helike in 373 BC, the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios near Aigion became the religious and political centre of the Akhaian League in its place.<sup>35</sup> The sanctuary of Zeus Lykaioi 'was once the great centralising festival of the local Arcadians' and later 'found a purpose as a focus for all Arcadians'.<sup>36</sup> The Boiotians, too, found 'a major focus for their identity' at the shrine of Zeus Laphystios, near Koroneia,<sup>37</sup> and even the non-Greek Karians centred their communal identity on a temple of Zeus Karios.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, it seems, the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios functioned as the single focus of Eleian identity before the various communities synoikised in 471 BC. When the Messenians established their new *polis* in the fourth century BC, apparently in conscious emulation of the Eleians in regard to Zeus Olympios, they minted coins depicting Zeus Ithomatas with a thunderbolt, eagle or tripod.<sup>39</sup> In so doing, they expressed their ethnic and political identity with reference to a deity at whose shrine their ancestors had taken refuge after the earthquake revolt about a century earlier and whose cult, since he is mentioned in a hymn attributed to the Archaic Korinthian poet Eumelos, seems to date from an early period.<sup>40</sup>

During the late Archaic period, as observed above, equipment for the cult of Zeus Olympios was sometimes dedicated by the Eleians as a whole. From at least the mid-sixth century BC, documents in the Eleian dialect were placed in Olympia, and the sanctuary seems to have become a common treasury for the Eleians.<sup>41</sup> Walter concludes that 'it is clear that before the synoikism the shrine of Zeus in Olympia was regarded as the centre of the Eleian state'.<sup>42</sup> While we must take care with the use of the expression *Staat* in relation to the period before the synoikism, at least some of the inscriptions found at Olympia undoubtedly performed political functions. *IvO* 9, dated to around 500–475 BC and thus to the decades immediately prior to the synoikism, suggests that by the late Archaic period the Eleians were able to conclude alliances with individual non-Eleian *poleis*.<sup>43</sup> These factors imply the existence of a common decision-making body, and the college of *proxenoi*, constituting an Olympic Council whose members represented the various Eleian communities, is the likely candidate.

The committee which occupied the *prytaneion* and the council housed in the *bouleuterion* at Olympia may well have been established in the first place solely for the purpose of administering the sanctuary and the games, rather than for political purposes,<sup>44</sup> and many Eleian officials, such as the *hellanodikai* and the

*manteis*, were also associated with this administration.<sup>45</sup> Apart from the arrangement of the quadrennial festival, the ongoing management of the sanctuary was itself demanding. In Pausanias' day, the priests performed daily sacrifices to Zeus, made monthly offerings at 62 altars and poured libations to certain foreign gods and to what appears to have been an extensive array of heroes and their wives. Several Eleian officials were based in the *prytaneion*, where libations were poured, hymns were sung and feasts devoured.<sup>46</sup> The scale of operations during the Archaic and Classical periods may have been more modest, but the administration of the sanctuary could still account for the existence of the *prytaneion*. It is less likely, however, that the executive administration of the sanctuary and festival required a council as well, so the body housed in the *bouleuterion* at Olympia probably oversaw the administration of the sanctuary in more general terms. The southern and oldest section of this building appears to have been constructed in the last quarter of the sixth century BC and thus at around the same time that 'the Eleians' dedicated the equipment for ritual drinking associated with the cult of Zeus Olympios discussed above,<sup>47</sup> so it is conceivable that the Olympic Council itself was responsible for initiating the collective dedications of cultic equipment by the Eleians for use inside the new *bouleuterion*. This body may also have come to regulate the political affairs of the Eleian communities until, with the synoikism of 471 BC, the *boule* of the new *polis* of the Eleians began to meet at the site which came to be called Elis.<sup>48</sup>

### **The Eleian *poleis* before the synoikism**

The earliest textual evidence for popular government among the Eleians comes from a passage of Thucydides concerning how the parties to the alliance between the Athenians, Argives, Mantineians and Eleians in 420 BC were to swear the relevant oaths. In Elis, the *demiorgoi* and the *thesmophylakes* were to administer the oath, which was to be sworn by the *demiorgoi* and the six hundred.<sup>49</sup> The existence of a body so large as 'the six hundred', comparable to 'the five hundred' in Athens, implies that by this time the Eleian constitution included a significant democratic element. A number of inscriptions from Olympia suggest that such an element had been present in the political institutions which governed at least some of the Eleians from late in the sixth century BC.

An inscription in the Eleian dialect on a bronze plaque from the last quarter of the sixth century BC mentions a council and an assembly. Known as *IvO* 7, this document seems to make provision for appeal to the people against judgments relating to offences committed within the sanctuary.<sup>50</sup> In addition, both a council of 500 and a broad popular assembly (*damos plēthun*), institutions which recall the constitution of the Athenians established by Kleisthenes in 508 BC,<sup>51</sup> are empowered to alter the provisions inscribed on the document. Another inscription from Olympia in the Eleian dialect, *IvO* 4, which appears to originate from the first quarter of the fifth century BC and thus, like *IvO* 7, to predate the synoikism, also mentions the *damos*. This document, in addition, refers to magistracies such as the *damiorgia* and seems to regulate the functions of the *theokolos* at Olympia.<sup>52</sup>

Its incomplete state, however, does not allow us to be sure that the *damos* appeared in a decision-making capacity. A third document, nevertheless, *IvO* 3, from around 475 BC, mentions a council and 'the people en masse' (*zamos plathuon*).<sup>53</sup>

Whibley, writing well over a century ago, could claim that 'Elis, until a relatively late period, consisted of small communities governed by aristocracies . . . but on their union in one state democracy was established.'<sup>54</sup> Andrewes observes, on the other hand, that if the documents discussed above are dated correctly they suggest that democracy was established in Elis before the Persian Wars, which he finds 'unexpected but not impossible'.<sup>55</sup> The Olympic sanctuary and festival ensured that the Eleians did not remain isolated from political events in other parts of the Greek world, including Athens and Eretria,<sup>56</sup> so the institutions reflected in these documents, and especially the council of 500 and the popular assembly mentioned in *IvO* 7, may have either inspired or been inspired by those which Kleisthenes established in Athens. If so, they are likely to have been components of a mixed constitution, or *politeia*, rather than an actual democracy.<sup>57</sup> Such a constitution, nevertheless, would have incorporated certain popular elements whose presence makes it out of the question for us to join Whibley in assuming that before the synoikism all of the communities in Eleia were ruled by aristocracies.

The inscriptions from Olympia discussed above in relation to the Olympic Council, on the other hand, indicate that at least some of the Eleian communities remained oligarchic.<sup>58</sup> The appearance of the term *damos* in *IvO* 9 (500–475 BC) need not imply popular government, and the context suggests that in this case it simply means 'community'.<sup>59</sup> The specification in *IvO* 11, from the same period, that Deukalion could become both a *damiorgos* and a *proxenos* implies that not all the citizens of the Eleian community of the Khaladrians were entitled to hold these offices.<sup>60</sup> Despite a reference to the *damos* in the last line of the inscription, this apparent limitation on eligibility for office suggests not only that the Khaladrians lived under an oligarchic constitution, but also that the Olympic Council itself was an aristocratic body.<sup>61</sup> The Anaitians of *IvO* 10 (c.475 BC) are mentioned nowhere else in the ancient sources, and although various names similar to that of the other people mentioned in this inscription, the Metapians, are found in other parts of Greece, they are unknown in Eleia.<sup>62</sup> Because their agreement was inscribed in the Eleian script, it is nonetheless likely that these two peoples belonged to the Eleian *ethnos*.<sup>63</sup> The exclusion from the altar of Zeus of anyone who broke the oaths sealed by this agreement is to be enforced by the *proxenoi* and the *manteis*, but the decision as to whether or not one of the parties had indeed transgressed their oaths appears to lie with 'the priests of Olympia'. The decree which *IvO* 10 records thus assigns no role to the *damos* in decision-making, enforcement or appeal, so the contracting parties seem to have been oligarchic.

If a group of Eleian communities had, as suggested in Chapter 4, combined under the leadership of the Omphalionids in the decades around the turn of the fifth century BC to form a popularly-governed political entity which at times managed Olympia, we would expect to see this state of affairs reflected in the inscriptions from that period. All three documents which reveal the presence of democratic institutions among the Eleians before the time of the synoikism

(IvO 3, 4, 7) are inscribed in the Eleian dialect, so scholars have assumed they were issued by the Eleians as a whole.<sup>64</sup> It must be emphasised, however, that *in none of these inscriptions has the name of an issuing authority survived*, so it is unclear precisely whose institutions they refer to. Since no unified *polis* of the Eleians existed before 471 BC,<sup>65</sup> no such *polis* can have been responsible for these inscriptions. Nor do they seem to record proclamations of the Olympic Council, since the *bouleuterion* at Olympia could not have accommodated so many as 500 *proxenoi* and this apparently aristocratic council is unlikely to have worked with an empowered popular assembly. The fact that all three documents concern the regulation of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, in addition, shows that they cannot have been issued by any individual Eleian community alone. A plausible alternative remains: that the citizens of a grouping of Eleian communities which joined together to form a more closely integrated polity and adopted a popular constitution similar to that of Kleisthenic Athens had, for some of the period before the synoikism, taken over the administration of the sanctuary.

In an ode for an Olympic victory in 476 BC Pindar mentions the *hellanodikas* who crowns the Olympic victor.<sup>66</sup> This might at first appear to present a difficulty for the chronology offered above, in which the choice of two *hellanodikai* in place of one *diaitater* from the Oxyliid *gens* is allocated to 472 BC.<sup>67</sup> Assuming that both the date for the ode and the apparent chronology are correct, however, it is possible that a single *hellanodikas* was chosen during the period when Pyrrhos had succeeded his brother Damophon as leader of the Omphalionids and was in open conflict with the remaining Eleians. Another Pindaric ode which also celebrates an Olympic victory won in 476 BC, where a mythical figure (King Oinomaos) is first described as 'Pisatan',<sup>68</sup> might reflect the appearance by that time of a separate identity among the Eleian followers of Pyrrhos. Perhaps the Omphalionid forces led by Pyrrhos had managed, at least for the Olympiad of 476 BC, to seize control of Olympia and preside over the festival, choosing a *hellanodikas* from the population at large in place of the aristocratic Oxyliid who had traditionally taken this role. A clause of the agreement between rival groupings which brought about the Eleian synoikism of 471 BC may then have provided for the choice of two such officials in place of the Oxyliid *diaitater*.<sup>69</sup>

The group of Eleian communities which in the period before the synoikism seem to have adopted a popular constitution including a council of 500 and, at least for a time, administered Olympia in place of the traditional Olympic Council may plausibly be associated with the Omphalionids and their supporters, whom we have seen appear to have belonged to a popular movement among the Eleians. The document which specifies that Deukalion when he became a Khaladrian citizen should have the right to become both *proxenos* and *damiorgos*, on the other hand, reveals that not every Eleian community enjoyed popular government at the time. Internal political conflict, with all its inherent complications and changes of fortune, may have broken out among the Eleians during the same period when other regions of Greece were engulfed in the turmoil which came about as popular movements challenged the rule of traditional aristocracies. The common people struggled to free themselves from aristocratic rule in Athens, Argos and parts of Arkadia, and



they may also have done so in Eleia, where a prolonged period of conflict during the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC between the members of the Omphalionid faction and their opponents was resolved through a reconciliation of the two parties which, by means of the *synoikismos*, then joined together in transforming their various communities into the demes of a single *polis*.<sup>70</sup>

Whether or not the members of such a popular movement had decided to distinguish themselves from the remainder of the Eleians by adopting an identity the name of which was derived from that of the River Pisa, later known as the Kladeos, we may never know, though this would seem to explain Pindar's apparently innovative description during the period when the relevant documents were inscribed of the mythical king Oinomaos as 'Pisatan'.<sup>71</sup> Although I have argued elsewhere in favour of this conclusion, Roy might yet be correct to maintain that the relevant evidence 'shows only a toponym, not an entity with political significance'.<sup>72</sup> In the end, however, it may not really matter what the Eleian faction led by the Omphalionids was called. What certainly does matter is that the evidence we have suggests that the Eleian synoikism, like so many other instances of profound structural change, was preceded by an extended period of internal conflict.<sup>73</sup>

### The nature of the synoikism

Five pieces of textual evidence must be considered in relation to the synoikism of Elis.<sup>74</sup> The first of these comes from the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax, which, although apparently written late in the fourth century BC, includes information clearly derived from earlier sources:<sup>75</sup>

Elis. After the Akhaians, Elis is the *ethnos*, and the *poleis* in it are: Kyllene and its harbour, and the river Alpheios; and there is also another *synoikia* of *poleis*, in the interior.<sup>76</sup>

In placing Elis, which clearly included coastal districts, 'in the interior', Pseudo-Skylax seems to be using the name in the topographical sense to describe the actual city, as he also does in regard to Kyllene, which in the political sense was an integral component of the *polis* of the Eleians.<sup>77</sup> The description of Elis as a *synoikia* of *poleis*, on the other hand, which clearly concerns its political nature, indicates that it had been synoikised from a number of formerly independent communities.<sup>78</sup>

An entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, a text assembled during the Byzantine period which drew information from earlier sources,<sup>79</sup> offers three explanations for the derivation of the name 'Elis':

Elis, the *polis*: as Leandros says, because those who escaped with their lives from the deluge were gathered together in it, that is, mustered together; or because living in villages [*komai*] they were later gathered together into one *polis*; or the *polis* took its name from Eleus the son of Poseidon, who was king of the country.<sup>80</sup>



The first of these explanations, the only one directly said to be derived from the fourth-century BC Leandros,<sup>81</sup> is clearly mythical, as is the third. The second explanation, which suggests that some agent gathered together the inhabitants of certain villages into one *polis*, as we shall see, may also have a mythical origin.

In a passage clearly meant to refer to the second year of the 77th Olympiad, 471 BC, Diodoros directly states that 'at this time the Eleians, while living in many small *poleis*, synoikised into one, which is named Elis.'<sup>82</sup> Diodoros' terminology, which is consistent with that of Pseudo-Skylax, suggests that the Eleian synoikism of the early Classical period, like the earlier synoikism of Athens, was primarily a political rather than a demographic event.<sup>83</sup>

Strabo has more to say on this topic:

The present *polis* of Elis had not yet been founded in the time of Homer, but the district was settled in villages, and it was called hollow (*koile*) Elis because of its character. For most of it, and the best part, was so. But at some time later, after the Persian Wars, they came together into the present *polis* of Elis, from many demes. And nearly all of the other places in the Peloponnese that the poet listed as well, except for a few, he terms not *poleis* but regions (*khorai*), each having a large number of confederacies (*systemata*) of *demoi* from which what were later known as *poleis* were synoikised. In Arkadia, for example, Mantinea was synoikised by the Argives from five *demoi*, and Tegea from nine, and Heraia, too, from as large a number by Kleombrotos or Kleonymos. And in the same way Aigion was united into one city from seven or eight demes, and Patrai from seven, and Dyme from eight. And thus Elis, too, was united into one *polis* from the neighbouring communities.<sup>84</sup>

Strabo thus suggests that before the synoikism what later became Elis had been composed of a number of 'demes' and that these, after the Persian War, came together to form a unified *polis*.<sup>85</sup> In this respect, he informs us, it resembled many other Classical Peloponnesian *poleis*. The question arises, however, of just how extensive an area of the region of Eleia these supposed demes occupied. The expression *koile Elis* appears in no text earlier than that of Thucydides, whose use of the adjective *koile* suggests that by his time the need had arisen to distinguish one low-lying district of the region of Elis from the remainder.<sup>86</sup> Strabo, however, implies that only the communities in this part of the region, presumably the district of the Peneios valley in which the Classical and later city was situated, came together to form the *polis* of the Eleians. He encourages this conclusion by comparison with political developments in two other Peloponnesian regions (*khorai*), Arkadia and Akhaia: each of these regions consisted of several *systemata* of demes, and each of these *systemata* became a *polis* later, leading to the existence of several independent *poleis* in each region. We are meant to draw the conclusion that only the communities of *koile Elis*, one of several *systemata* in the region of Elis, were synoikised into the *polis* of the Eleians. In this, however, Strabo seems motivated by a desire to prove the historicity of a separate Pisatan polity during the Archaic period, and we are not obliged to accept his implication that *koile Elis* constituted the entire territory of the *polis* of the Eleians.<sup>87</sup>

In Strabo's first statement, the people live only in villages (ἡ χώρα κομηδὸν ᾤκειτο). Both this and the second explanation recorded in the *Etymologicum Magnum* thus make the Eleians village dwellers before the synoikism. Pausanias, similarly, records a belief that soon after the arrival of the Aitolians in Eleia at the time of the return of the Herakleidai, the Aitolian leader Oxylos brought about a demographic change in the immediate vicinity of the city of Elis:

It is said that he also persuaded all of the people from the villages (*komai*) who did not live far from the wall to go down into the city and made the number of inhabitants greater and generally made Elis wealthier.<sup>88</sup>

This report, rather than referring to the fifth-century synoikism, seems to reflect a mythical belief in the development of the city at the time of the return of the Herakleidai. Despite Roy's conclusion that it might yet signify an ancient belief in an earlier Eleian synoikism,<sup>89</sup> it has no more historical credibility than the myth recounted by Apollodoros that Endymion, grandson of Aiolos, had founded Elis.<sup>90</sup> The first statement in the passage from Strabo has much in common with both Pausanias' mythical report and the second explanation in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, but little to do with the accounts of Pseudo-Skylax and Diodoros, in which the *polis* of Elis is created from various smaller *poleis*.

Following this first, mythical statement, Strabo informs us that after the Persian Wars many demes came together to form one *polis*. His use of the term *demoi* may reflect the fact that, by means of the synoikism, what had once been independent *poleis* in the region of Eleia became the demes of the new *polis*.<sup>91</sup> It is widely accepted that Diodoros, in the passage concerning the synoikism of Elis, epitomised the fourth-century BC Ephoros.<sup>92</sup> This means that the statements in Diodoros and Pseudo-Skylax, both of which report a political synoikism of previously independent *poleis*, are the earliest pieces of evidence that we have for the synoikism. Roy suggests that these reports may have 'a common source in Ephoros'.<sup>93</sup> This may well be so, but Strabo, perhaps for the sake of brevity, appears to have placed two separate events in immediate proximity to each other in a way that makes it possible for us to conflate them: the mythical coming together of villagers from around the site of Elis at the time of the Herakleidai, also found in Pausanias and the *Etymologicum Magnum*; and historical reports that after the Persian War the *polis* of the Eleians came into being as the result of the synoikism of a number of smaller *poleis* which together had once constituted a *systema*, or confederacy.<sup>94</sup> This more historical element of his account is in agreement with the relevant passages of both Pseudo-Skylax and Diodoros.

The tales of a mythical movement of peoples from the surrounding countryside into the city of Elis, none of which can be demonstrated to originate from a time any earlier than Strabo's, must be clearly distinguished from the evidence for the historical *synoikismos* of the early fifth century BC, which is likely to have entailed a fundamental political reorganisation of the Eleian communities.<sup>95</sup> The rapid expansion of the city of Elis after the synoikism, when it grew to become 'one of the largest and most populated cities in the Peloponnese', is well

established by the archaeological evidence.<sup>96</sup> This expansion was not achieved, however, at the expense of the remaining settlements, and seems instead to have been accompanied by urban and rural growth throughout the region.<sup>97</sup> There can be little doubt that there was a settlement at the site of Elis before the early Classical synoikism.<sup>98</sup> We could not conclude from this fact, however, that during the Archaic period the entire area synoikised in 471 BC was already dominated by a single Eleian *polis*, and the epigraphic evidence which Roy produces to support the view that an Eleian state had existed before the synoikism rather adds weight to the case for an Archaic confederacy of various Eleian *poleis*.<sup>99</sup> It is more likely that the community situated on the site of the city of Elis was but one of the many small *poleis* which, already enjoying a common Eleian ethnic identity centred on Olympia, as a result of the synoikism of 471 BC, became the demes of the new *polis* of the Eleians, who then expanded an existing *agora* at the site on the Peneios in order to establish it as their common political centre.<sup>100</sup>

### The constitution of the synoikised *polis*

Several inscriptions from Olympia describe themselves as *rhetai*, literally 'agreements', though by extension a *rheta* can also be an agreed decision formulated into a decree. The earliest known *rheta* from Olympia was made between the Eleians and the *Ewaioi*, the second between the Khaladrians and Deukalion, and the third between the Anaitians and Metapians, all already discussed.<sup>101</sup> All three of these *rhetai* are clearly agreements between two parties. The fourth-oldest *rheta*, which we have from Olympia, *IvO* 2, is entitled 'the *rheta* of the Eleians'. If the previous three *rhetai* were any guide, this document would be an agreement concluded by the Eleians among themselves.<sup>102</sup> It dates from the second quarter of the fifth century BC, the same period as the synoikism. The inscription mentions a single *hellanodikas*, but this does not necessarily imply that it was inscribed before the institution of two *hellanodikai*, since only one of two may have been mentioned in this particular context.<sup>103</sup> Pausanias, in assigning the selection of two *hellanodikai* to Olympiad 50, seems to have excluded the 27 unrecorded Olympiads referred to in some ancient sources, so it is likely to have been carried out in time for the 77th Olympic festival of 472 BC and thus just before the synoikism of 471.<sup>104</sup> As suggested above, the *hellanodikas* mentioned by Pindar in relation to an Olympic victory of the previous Olympiad, held in 476 BC, may have been chosen by the members of the Omphalionid faction, then in control of the sanctuary, in place of the Oxyliid *diaitater* who had previously fulfilled this function.<sup>105</sup> Since *IvO* 2 is clearly a *rheta* of the Eleians as a whole, however, it seems either contemporary with or subsequent to the reform introduced between 476 and 472 BC which provided for the selection of two *hellanodikai* from among, as Pausanias makes clear, 'all the Eleians'.<sup>106</sup>

Although interpretations of *IvO* 2 differ according to what we make of the expression *patrian* in lines one and eight, Minon demonstrates that it is highly likely to signify an individual, and this *rheta* appears to ensure the safety of a secretary of non-Eleian origin called Patrias.<sup>107</sup> It also declares that, when appropriate, certain penalties are to be imposed by the most important magistrates and

the *basilae* ('kings' or 'chiefs'), 'otherwise the *Hellanodikas* must exact a fine from them; and other penalties are to be dealt with by the *damiorgia*'.<sup>108</sup> Wallace sees in this evidence that 'a common purpose of archaic legislation was regulating *archai*'.<sup>109</sup> These officials need not, however, have been the magistrates of the synoikised *polis*, and the expression *or megiston telos ekhoi* in the inscription is likely to have been used 'to describe the different magistrates in the different towns (who probably had different titles)'.<sup>110</sup> In this case, *IvO* 2 would appear to establish procedures for bringing the chief magistrates of the communities incorporated into the Eleian *polis* into line with the central authority. Because it thus appears to standardise fundamental judicial practice, *IvO* 2 may constitute a document associated with the foundation of the new *polis*.

Aside from stipulating these procedures, *IvO* 2 mentions the *damiorgia*, known from other sources as a board or category of public officials. Jeffery suggests, since the oath for the quadruple alliance of 420 BC is to be administered in Athens by the *prytaneis*, in Argos by 'the eighty' and in Mantinea, as in Elis, by the *demiorgoi*, that the Eleian *demiorgoi* should correspond to the Argive eighty, an 'ex-aristocratic body'.<sup>111</sup> The Athenian *prytaneis*, however, constituted a committee of the popularly selected council of 500, and the 'ex-aristocratic' *areiopagos* is not allocated any responsibilities in regard to swearing this treaty, so the Eleian body need not be considered aristocratic.<sup>112</sup> The most that we can say with any confidence about the *damiorgia* of *IvO* 2 is that it probably constituted, like the Athenian archonate, a board of magistrates, each of whom had a particular responsibility in the administration of the state. This inscription seems to have allocated to the *damiorgia*, as the supreme board of magistrates in the Eleian *polis*, the responsibility for penalising any officials of the Eleian demes (previously independent communities) who failed to enforce certain laws.<sup>113</sup>

The *hellanodikas*, on the other hand, seems to have been obliged to punish anyone who committed an offence against the *gropheus* ('secretary') Patrias or his family.<sup>114</sup> This must have been an important position, since in an inscription dated to the years just before the synoikism, another *gropheus* called Pyrrhon is listed first among those empowered (though, since the name of the issuing authority is missing, it is not clear by which body) to alter decisions related to an international arbitration.<sup>115</sup> The protection afforded to Patrias and his family suggests to Minon that together they constituted 'a family of secretaries' of which Patrias was the head.<sup>116</sup> The apparently foreign origin of Patrias raises the additional possibility that he was a legislator from elsewhere in Greece who had been engaged by the Eleians to deal with the rather complex and no doubt contentious details of the synoikism, in which perhaps sixteen communities with diverse customs and institutions developed over centuries were brought together into a single *polis*.<sup>117</sup> Such an individual would no doubt have encountered opposition to many aspects of his programme and thus have been in genuine need of protection.

*IvO* 2 makes it abundantly clear that the responsibilities of the *hellanodikai* extended far beyond the mere judging of the Olympic competitions, and they appear to have been among the most significant magistrates of the Eleians.<sup>118</sup> Pausanias' report of the reform which provided for the choice of two of these magistrates, which we have seen seems to belong to the time of the synoikism,

suggests that it was democratic in nature. While at first the Olympic festival had been managed by Iphitos and then by various descendants of Oxylos in turn, at this time 'two men selected by lot from all of the Eleian people were entrusted to arrange the Olympic festival'.<sup>119</sup> Soon after the synoikism the Eleians thus appear to have abandoned the ancient practice of appointing a member of the Oxylyds, an aristocratic clan comparable to the Herakleids at Sparta, to one of their highest offices, and to have adopted instead a democratic procedure, selection by lot from the entire citizen body, for the appointment of the *hellanodikai*.

Aristodemos of Elis records that while the final number of Eleian *hellanodikai* was ten, one from each tribe, earlier there were twelve.<sup>120</sup> Although the institution of twelve *hellanodikai* in 368 BC post-dates the *synoikismos* by over a century,<sup>121</sup> both Aristodemos and Pausanias imply that twelve tribes had existed among the Eleians long before the decision was made to select one *hellanodikas* from each.<sup>122</sup> Similarly, while Kleisthenes had established the ten Athenian tribes in the late sixth century BC, the number of archons and associated magistrates does not appear to have been brought into line with the number of tribes by the addition of a secretary to the six *thesmothetai* until the fourth century BC.<sup>123</sup> The government of the new Eleian *polis* may thus have been conducted from the outset by the Council of 600 mentioned by Thucydides in relation to events which occurred half a century later, in 420 BC.<sup>124</sup> Perhaps, as in Athens, 50 councillors were selected by lot from each tribe.

According to Gehrke, the Eleians in 471 BC simply modified a pre-existing moderate oligarchy and thus established a 'farmers' democracy'. The evidence which he presents for this conclusion, however, is very slim: a passage of Polybios which he claims demonstrates the 'agrarian structure' of Elis but which, as suggested below, may have more to do with the decentralised nature of the Eleian *polis*.<sup>125</sup> Elsewhere, Gehrke discusses a passage from Aristotle, who, when claiming that keeping the citizens of a state agricultural helps to maintain a politically stable, moderate democracy, reports the existence of certain legislation attributed to the mythical Eleian king Oxylos prohibiting loans secured on a certain portion of an original estate.<sup>126</sup> The context of this passage in Aristotle's text favours Gehrke's view that the 'Oxylian law' aimed to protect small peasant holdings, perhaps when their owners found themselves in financial difficulty after coinage became available for loan in Greece during the Archaic period.<sup>127</sup> Although Roy believes that this measure may be either 'late archaic or classical', it would seem unusual for Aristotle to ascribe a law which post-dated the synoikism to a mythical king, and we can be sure neither that it remained effective into Classical times nor that Aristotle truly understood its purpose. Perhaps, as Swoboda contends, it was actually intended to protect the estates of an Archaic landed aristocracy.<sup>128</sup> There is thus little to support the view that a democracy of small farmers working in harmony with the elite such as that idealised by Aristotle existed among the Eleians during the period after the synoikism.<sup>129</sup> The only evidence which does provide some indication of the extent to which the Eleians governed themselves in that period is the statement preserved in Pausanias, associated above with 472 BC, that their two most prestigious magistrates were selected by lot from all the citizens – a procedure generally considered characteristic of radical democracy.<sup>130</sup>

By the Classical period, any surviving class of small peasant farmers would have been complemented by the urban populations of both Elis itself and the larger demes, including the seaports, capable of tipping the balance in favour of a more complete democracy. The Eleian citizenry most likely included, in addition to those whose wants were provided chiefly through agriculture, people engaged in a rich diversity of occupations, such as timber-getters, fishers, carpenters, shipwrights, wheelwrights, leatherworkers, metalworkers, seers, physicians, sailors and merchants.<sup>131</sup> The agriculturalists must have possessed estates widely ranging in size, from mixed farms barely capable of sustaining a struggling family to wide pasturelands supporting a wealthy, leisured and cosmopolitan aristocracy. While small to middle-sized holdings may have been common in the variegated valley of the Alpheios, the wide plain of the Peneios seems more suited to larger properties.<sup>132</sup> It is conceivable that the Peneios plain constituted the economic, social and political equivalent of the Athenian *mesogeia*, where extensive estates were operated by aristocratic families, most of whose members were not among the supporters of democracy and who were prepared, whenever the opportunity arose, to contest control of the state with the common people.

The inscriptions which mention the *proxenoi* suggest that the Olympic Council was still meeting shortly before the synoikism of 471 BC.<sup>133</sup> It has been suggested that at this time or later 'the *boule* of the Eleians was moved to a *bouleuterion* in the city of Elis.'<sup>134</sup> There is more reason to believe, however, that the council located in Elis was a new institution rather than a transferred one, while that which met in the *bouleuterion* at Olympia continued to oversee the management of the sanctuary. One of the inscriptions which mentions the Olympic *proxenoi*, *IvO* 13, has been dated to the second quarter of the fifth century, and may well post-date the synoikism.<sup>135</sup> While the southern section of the *bouleuterion* dates to the last quarter of the sixth century BC, the northern section seems to have been constructed between that time and the commencement of the temple of Zeus Olympios after the Olympiad of 472 BC.<sup>136</sup> Around the middle of the fifth century BC, moreover, the *bouleuterion* was extended by means of joining together the southern and northern sections.<sup>137</sup> This suggests not only that the Olympic Council continued to meet in Olympia after the synoikism, but also that its importance actually increased. It appears, in fact, to have been influential for some time to come: it may have been responsible for imposing a substantial fine upon the Spartans for their apparent transgression of the Olympic truce in 420 BC; and it may even have tried Xenophon for receiving land in Skillois from the Lakedaimonians.<sup>138</sup> The Olympic Council and that of the Eleians, moreover, appear in certain inscriptions of the Roman Imperial period, and one document mentions both the Olympic Council and the *synedroi*, clearly the Council of the Eleians, next to one another.<sup>139</sup> Although relieved of its overtly political functions, it seems, the Council continued to oversee the management of the sanctuary, and the *proxenoi* of the various communities which had now become the demes of the *polis* of the Eleians still comprised its members. We cannot be sure, however, that eligibility for this office continued to be limited, as *IvO* 11 implies was the case before the synoikism.<sup>140</sup>



The occasion of the foundation of the unified *polis* of the Eleians in 471 BC appears to have been marked by the commencement of the new temple of Zeus. During the first Olympiad after the synoikism, that celebrated in 468 BC, the poet Simonides, it also seems, was commissioned to sing at celebrations which may have taken place in both Elis and Olympia.<sup>141</sup> In this same year, the new *polis* began to mint silver staters at Olympia stamped FA for FAΛEIQN, the ethnic designation of the Eleians. As Kraay observes, ‘for most of the fifth century and the early fourth the obverse type shows the eagle of Zeus, usually in flight, grasping in its talons most commonly a snake.’<sup>142</sup> These coins epitomised the now dual nature of Eleian society: the city beside the Peneios became its political centre; but the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios remained its religious heart.

## Notes

- 1 Kahrstedt 1928, 157–76.
- 2 Minon 14 = *IvO* 10; *LSAG* 220.12. Dates given here are from Minon.
- 3 Kahrstedt 1928, 160.
- 4 Minon 19 = *IvO* 13; *LSAG* 220.6; Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 93.
- 5 Minon 12 = *IvO* 11; *LSAG* 220.8; Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 93.
- 6 Kahrstedt 1928, 161; cf. Wallace 1970, 195–6 n.1; Ruggeri 2004, 91.
- 7 This volume, Ch. 4.
- 8 Van de Löcht 2013, 269–70; cf. *AR* 1996/97, 45–6; 1997/98, 49; this volume, p. 101.
- 9 Herakl. Pont. *Peri Politeion* VI HAEIQN, *FHG* II, 213.6; this volume, p. 80.
- 10 Minon 10 = *IvO* 9.
- 11 Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, 52; Roy and Schofield 1999, 155–65.
- 12 For discussion of the identity of the other party, Roy and Schofield 1999, 155–65.
- 13 Kahrstedt 1928, 162.
- 14 Paus. 5.16.5–6; this volume, p. 81.
- 15 Diod. 11.54.1; Strabo 8.3.2; Gehrke 1985, 52; Walter 1993, 118; this volume, pp. 95–8.
- 16 Cf. Roy 1998, 368; 2015a, 144.
- 17 Siewert 1994b, 259; cf. Kahrstedt 1928, 157–76; Eder 2001, 243.
- 18 Siewert 1991, 81–4; Minon 44–7 = *IvO* 257, 258, 930 & *NIO* 207; *SEG* 41.396; Taita 1999, 169–70.
- 19 *NIO* 202–6; Minon 36; Siewert 1991, 81–2; cf. *SEG* 9.1204; 31.364.
- 20 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30–1, 2.25; 4.2.16; 6.5.3; this volume, p. 175.
- 21 Minon I, 241–3.
- 22 Siewert 1991, 82; cf. *LSAG*, 206 Fig. 40, 216–21 pls. 42, 43. These Ledrinians are clearly identical to ‘the Letrinians’ referred to by both Xenophon and Pausanias: Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 30; 4.2.16; Paus. 6.22.8–11. As Kunze *ADelt* 19 B2, 169 points out, the spelling Λεδρίνων for the genitive plural is used at *Hell.* 4.2.16 in all of the manuscripts; cf. Daux 1966, 817–19, pl. 12.2; Robert and Robert 1967, 493 no. 279; *SEG* 25.462; Ruggeri 2004, 91.
- 23 Minon 47 = *NIO* 207; cf. *ADelt*, 19 B2, 169 B2, pl. 173a, b.
- 24 Siewert 1991, 81.
- 25 On their probable political status, this volume, pp. 160–3.
- 26 Cf. Roy 2008, 297; *contra* Taita 1999, 170.
- 27 Hdt. 4.148.1.
- 28 Shipley 1987, 177 n.61.
- 29 Larsen 1955, 27–31; Hdt. 6.7; cf. 1.141.4, 170.1–3; 5.108–9; Caspari 1915, 176–8; Roebuck 1955, 26–8.
- 30 Roebuck 1955, 29–36.



- 31 Hall 2002, 70–1.
- 32 This volume, pp. 16–21.
- 33 Cf. Walter 1993, 121. Larsen 1955, 22–3 distinguishes between tribal and federal states.
- 34 Hdt. 1.170.3.
- 35 Strabo 8.7.5 (who calls the sanctuary near Aigion the ‘Amarion’); Taita 1999, 179; cf. Polybios 2.39.6; Larsen 1968, 27–8, 84–5; Dowden 2006, 67.
- 36 Dowden 2006, 69–70; cf. Taita 1999, 179.
- 37 Dowden 2006, 70; cf. Schachter 1994, 107–8. On Boiotian federalism, Larsen 1955, 31–40.
- 38 Hdt. 1.171.5–6; cf. Strabo 14.2.25; Gonzales 2005, 282 and n.78.
- 39 Shipley 2004, 564; cf. Kraay 1976, 103–4 with pl. 18.
- 40 Thuc. 1.103.2; Paus. 4.32.1, cf. 3.9, 12.7, 8. Eumelos: Paus. 2.1.1; 4.4.1, 33.2; West 2002, 109–10.
- 41 Taeuber 1991, 111; Siewert 1994a, 27; Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 29–31; cf. Thuc. 5.31.2; Siewert 2001, 246–7.
- 42 Walter 1993, 119; cf. Swoboda 1905, 2423; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 87.
- 43 Minon 10 = *IvO* 9; Walter 1993, 122.
- 44 Siewert 2001, 247–8.
- 45 Yalouris 1996, 79 can name the *hellanodikai*, *mastroi*, *manteis*, *hiaromaoi*, *theokloi*, *nomophylakes*, *alytarkhes*, *alytai*, *thesmophylakes*, *spondophoroi* and *telestai*.
- 46 Paus. 5. 14.4–9, 11–12, 15.11–12.
- 47 Van de Löcht 2013, 269–70; this volume, pp. 89–90.
- 48 Swoboda 1905, 2423; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 87–8; this volume, p. 101.
- 49 Thuc. 5.47.9.
- 50 Minon 4 = *IvO* 7; *LSAG* 220.5; Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 93. Lines 2–3: ἀ δὲ καὶ φράτρα ἀ δαμοσία τελεία εἰς δικάδοσα; cf. Minon I, 29.εἰνε ury BC.
- 51 Andrewes 1970, 60; Moggi 1976, 161–2; Gehrke 1985, 52–3; Jones 1987, 144; Inglis 1998, 79; Bourke 2011b, 139–41; cf. Robinson 1997, 108–9; *contra* Sakellariou 1989, 447; O’Neil 1974, 88; 1995, 33, 38–9.
- 52 Minon 9 = *IvO* 4; cf. O’Neil 1974, 85; *LSAG* 220.10; van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, 24. The *theokoloi* are also mentioned in an inscription from the last quarter of the sixth century BC: Minon 6 = *IvO* 1; *LSAG* 220.2.
- 53 Minon 13 = *IvO* 3; *LSAG* 220.9; Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 93.
- 54 Whibley 1896, 180.
- 55 Andrewes 1970, 60; cf. Cartledge 1979, 215; Demand 1990, 64; Rhodes 1995, 96; Robinson 1997, 109; Roy 2002, 258.
- 56 Cf. Roy 2013a, 464. Eretria: Walker 2004, 236–69.
- 57 Raaflaub 2007, 105–54; Bourke 2011b, 139–41.
- 58 This volume, pp. 88–9.
- 59 Minon 10 = *IvO* 9; Minon I, 75.
- 60 Minon 12 = *IvO* 11.
- 61 Cf. Swoboda 1905, 2425. Gehrke 1985, 365 unnecessarily assumes that *IvO* 11 implies that all of the Eleians lived under a moderate oligarchy at the time.
- 62 Minon 14 = *IvO* 10; *LSAG* 220.12.
- 63 Minon I, 98–100.
- 64 E.g. Roy 2015a, 142–9. Scholars who assume that *IvO* 7 was a document of the Eleians as a whole have been obliged to attempt to account for the existence of a council of 500 at this earlier time but a council of 600 in 420 BC: Thuc. 5.47.9; Andrewes 1970, 61; O’Neil 1974, 81–7; 1995, 32, 37–8; Gehrke 1985, 63, 367 n.11; Jones 1987, 144; Robinson 1997, 108–9; 2011, 29–30, 32; Inglis 1998, 74.
- 65 Whibley 1896, 180; this volume, pp. 28–30.
- 66 Pind. *Ol.* 3.12; Bowra 1969, 78.
- 67 This volume, p. 75.

- 68 Pind. *Ol.* 1.70; Bowra 1969, 74.
- 69 This volume, pp. 75–81.
- 70 This volume, p. 85.
- 71 This volume, p. 54.
- 72 Bourke 2011c, 429 n.88; cf. 2011a, 11; Roy 2013b, 226.
- 73 Cf. Robinson 1997, 129; Bourke 2011a, 20.
- 74 Ps.-Skylax 43; Leandros *FGrH* 492 F 13; Diod. 11.54.1; Strabo 8.3.2; Paus. 5.4.3; cf. Moggi 1976, 157–60; Roy 2002, 249–51.
- 75 Shipley 2011, 6–8, 11–12.
- 76 Ps.-Skylax 43.1.
- 77 This passage need not suggest that Kyllene remained outside the synoikised *polis* of Elis; cf. Roy 2004, 499.254. In further passages, Ps.-Skylax uses the term *polis* to describe settlements that were clearly not politically independent. The Megarians constitute an *ethnos* containing the *poleis* of Aigosthena, Pegai (described as a fort), Geraneia and Aris, and ‘after the Megarians are the *poleis* of the Athenians’, among them Eleusis, Salamis, Peiraieus and Sounion: Ps.-Skylax 39, 57; cf. Shipley 2011, 119–20.
- 78 Shipley 2011, 121.
- 79 Duke 1978, 295.
- 80 Leandros *FGrH* 492 F 13.
- 81 Roy 2002, 250.
- 82 Diod. 11.54.1, cf. 53.1; Demand 1990, 64; Roy 2002, 249.
- 83 Thuc. 2.15.2.
- 84 Strabo 8.3.2. As Andrewes 1990, 172 n.5 points out, when Strabo says ἡ Ἥλις ἐκ τῶν περριοικίδων συνεπολίσθη, ‘this appears to be the purely topographical sense’.
- 85 Walter 1993, 118.
- 86 Thuc. 2.25.3.
- 87 This volume, pp. 58–62. It would be remarkable, as Inglis 1998, 82 suggests, if ‘a large *synoikismos* [were] undertaken in the name of all the Eleioi by the inhabitants of the northern valley’.
- 88 Paus. 5.4.3.
- 89 Roy 2002, 251; cf. Moggi 1976, 160.
- 90 Apollod. *Lib.* 1.7.5–6; cf. 2.7.2. At *Lib.* 1.9.7, 2.5.5, 2.8.3, just as in Homer, ‘Elis’ appears to designate a region.
- 91 Cf. Andrewes 1990, 172 n.5.
- 92 Stylianou 1998, 49–50; cf. Roy 2002, 261.
- 93 Roy 2002, 261.
- 94 Cf. Moggi 1976, 161. As Sakellariou 1989, 317 points out, σύστημα ‘is used by Polybius as a synonym for the term κοινόν (confederacy)’: Polyb. 2.41.15; 9.28.2.
- 95 Cf. Gehrke 1985, 52; Osborne 1987, 126; Walter 1993, 118.
- 96 Yalouris 1996, 104–13; this volume, pp. 228–31.
- 97 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26; Polyb. 4.73.6, 75.7–8; cf. Osborne 1987, 126; Walter 1993, 118.
- 98 This volume, pp. 28–30. Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999, 1–39; Roy 2002, 253–4.
- 99 Roy 2002, 256–7.
- 100 Swoboda 1905, 2423; Walter 1993, 118. On the role of pre-existing attachments in *polis* formation, Gehrke 1986, 49.
- 101 Minon 10, 12, 14 = *IvO* 9, 11, 10.
- 102 Minon 20 = *IvO* 2; Ἀ Φράτρυ τοῖρ Φαλείοις.
- 103 *LSAG*, 218; Gehrke 1985, 365.
- 104 Paus. 5.9.4; Shaw 2003, 96; this volume, p. 75.
- 105 This volume, p. 94.
- 106 Paus. 5.9.4.
- 107 Minon I, 140–2; Roy 2015a, 143.
- 108 Andrewes 1970, 60; cf. Roy 2015a, 143.

- 109 Wallace 2007, 66–7.
- 110 Whibley 1896, 153 n.5; cf. Walter 1993, 120. Minon II, 496–8 argues against the view that the *basilae* were local magistrates, concluding instead that they constituted a college with authority throughout Elis, but makes no such claims concerning *or megiston telos ekhoi*.
- 111 Jeffery 1973–4, 328; cf. O’Neil 1974, 87.
- 112 Jeffery 1973–4, 330 also says that in the ‘West Greek states, the archaic demiourgia in type lies somewhere between a category . . . and a board of fixed number such as the Athenian archonate’.
- 113 Minon I, 146–7.
- 114 Minon I, 146.
- 115 Minon 15 = *NIO* 5; cf. Minon II, 502–4; Zoumbaki 2005, 310.47.
- 116 Minon I, 143.
- 117 This volume, p. 81.
- 118 Cf. Swoboda 1905, 2425–6; Burton 2016, 92.
- 119 Paus. 5.9.4.
- 120 Aristodemos of Elis *FGrH* 414 F 2a, b. There were ten *hellanodikai* from Ol. 108 (348 BC) until at least the time of Pausanias: Paus. 5.9.6.
- 121 Paus. 5.9.5; this volume, p. 189.
- 122 Cf. Paus. 5.9.4–6; Roy 2012, 141–2.
- 123 *Ath. Pol.* 55.1, 59.7, 63.1; Glotz 1965, 221.
- 124 Thuc. 5.47.9; Swoboda 1905, 2429.
- 125 Polyb. 4.73.6–9; Gehrke 1985, 53, cf. 365–6; this volume, pp. 226–8.
- 126 *Arist. Pol.* 6.2.5, 1319a.12–14; cf. 6.2.1–6, 1318b.7–1319a.19; Gehrke 1986, 104.
- 127 Gehrke 1985, 52, 366; 1986, 44.
- 128 Swoboda 1905, 2423; Roy 2015b, 154.
- 129 *Arist. Pol.* 6.2.3–4, 1318b.28–1319a.6.
- 130 Paus. 5.9.4; this volume, p. 75.
- 131 This volume, pp. 11–16.
- 132 Cf. Gehrke 1986, 104.
- 133 Kahrstedt 1928, 166, cf. 160.
- 134 Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 88; Paus. 5.15.8; 6.23.7.
- 135 Minon 19 = *IvO* 13.
- 136 Van de Löcht 2013, 269–72; Barringer 2005, 214; cf. Shaw 2003, 98; Bourke 2011a, 16.
- 137 Van de Löcht 2013, 272–3.
- 138 Thuc. 5.49.1; Paus. 5.6.6; cf. 6.3.7; Swoboda 1905, 2430–1; this volume, pp. 139–42.
- 139 Swoboda 1905, 2430–1.
- 140 This volume, p. 88.
- 141 Bourke 2011a, 14–17.
- 142 Kraay 1976, 103–4; *BCD* 2004, 9–12, 21–3; *BCD* 2006, 164.

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## 6 External relations to 422 BC

### The Eleians and their allies

It has been suggested that by the late sixth century BC an amphiktyony originally established for the management of Olympia had been transformed into an alliance headed by the *polis* of Elis.<sup>1</sup> An inscription on a bronze tablet in the Eleian dialect found at Olympia dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC twice mentions ‘the Eleians and their *symmakhia* (alliance)’ in relation to wrestling rules.<sup>2</sup> This implies, says Siewert, that ‘these confederates had a similar relationship to the shrine and to the referees as the Eleians themselves’ and accords with reports of Pindar and Tzetzes that the *hellanodikai* who judged the Olympic contests were not drawn from the Eleians alone.<sup>3</sup> Pindar, however, does not imply that the *hellanodikas* he mentions was not Eleian, but simply describes him as Aitolian, an ethnic designation regularly applied to the Eleians during his time.<sup>4</sup> Tzetzes’ report that ‘there were *hellanodikai* from the amphiktyons, especially the Aitolians, and the Eleians together with them’ reveals only that this late writer mistakenly assumed from his sources a false dichotomy between the Eleians and the Aitolians of Eleia. Taita, supporting Siewert, argues that ‘the Aitolians’ included the communities of the Alpheios valley, whose people she believes were separate from the Eleians. As shown in previous chapters, however, the Eleians inhabited both the Peneios and Alpheios valleys. Taita also fails to take into account the statement of Herodotos that there was only one Aitolian *polis* in the Peloponnese, that of the Eleians.<sup>5</sup>

Siewert deduces that the *symmakhia* of the bronze tablet he discusses consisted of ‘states which had concluded a military agreement with Elis and whose citizens stood in a close relationship to Olympia and the *hellanodikai* incumbent there’ and concludes that ‘towards the end of the sixth century, all members of the cult community [of Olympia] had also become members of the Eleian symmarchy.’<sup>6</sup> In Siewert’s view, the members of this alliance included the regional communities known to have dedicated cult equipment to the shrine, the Eleians, Amphidolians, Ledrinians, Alasyes and Akroreians.<sup>7</sup> None of these names, however, appears in any of the inscriptions which mention the *proxenoi* who seem to have sat on the Olympic Council, and, apart from the Eleians themselves, these peoples seem instead to have constituted the *perioikoi* referred to by ancient writers in the context of later events.<sup>8</sup> There is thus no sound reason to identify the communities



which dedicated cult equipment at Olympia with the allies of the Eleians, and the Archaic inscription cited by Siewert may merely imply that the Eleians sought to draw their allies into a closer relationship with the sanctuary.

Although it is clear that the inhabitants of both the Peneios and Alpheios valleys were known as the Eleians, 'the valley people', the same cannot be said of all the people of the region bordering on Akhaia to the north, Arkadia to the east and Messenia to the south. It should not surprise us that none of the six cities to the south of the Alpheios designated 'Minyan' by Herodotos – Lepreon, Makiston, Phrixa, Pyrgos, Epeion and Noudion – appears among the donors of cultic equipment at the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios,<sup>9</sup> since these communities seem to have focused their own separate identity upon the sanctuary of Poseidon at Samikon.<sup>10</sup> We know from Thucydides, on the other hand, that the Lepreans, at least, had paid tribute to the treasury of Zeus at Olympia from some unspecified time before the end of the Arkhidamian War in 421 BC, and Strabo records that other allies of the Eleians did the same.<sup>11</sup> Since Lepreon was located in the far south of the region, it is doubtful that the other Minyan communities could have remained outside the Eleian alliance. Together, these communities may have constituted the bulk of the *symmakhia* of the Eleians mentioned in the inscription cited by Siewert.

The question remains, however, of when this state of affairs came about. In Roy's view, the Eleians subjugated the districts between the Alpheios and the Neda during a period of expansion in the mid-fifth century BC, when they sacked most of the six Minyan cities, an event which Herodotos reports occurred during his own lifetime.<sup>12</sup> Herodotos' report that 200 Lepreans fought at Plataiai against the Persians in 479 BC, confirmed by the appearance of their name on the serpent column at Delphi, might at first appear to favour this view.<sup>13</sup> Since the members of another significant 'Minyan' community, the Makistians, are not listed as allies of the Spartans in the Persian War, we could be tempted to conclude that while these had been subjected to the Eleians by then, the Lepreans had not.<sup>14</sup> We must keep in mind, however, the interpretation of late Archaic and early Classical Eleian history suggested by the chronology offered above. If the Lepreans were physically separated from the 'official' Eleians by the rebel forces led by the Omphalionid Damophon, they could have acted independently during the Persian invasion and yet remained loyal.<sup>15</sup> The Makistians, on the other hand, are named by Pausanias as allies of the Omphalionids, so it should come as no surprise that they are not listed among those who fought under the leadership of the Spartans at Plataiai.<sup>16</sup>

Thucydides makes it quite clear that, far from being forced into subjection, the Lepreans had sought alliance with the Eleians during a war with certain Arkadians.<sup>17</sup> The Eleians, in fact, seem to have treated the Lepreans reasonably: while they might have taken half their land in return for this assistance, they settled for a tribute of one talent per year payable to the treasury at Olympia. Roy argues that 'if Lepreon was one of the Minyan cities attacked by Elis, then its appeal for alliance, as reported by Thucydides, must be later than the attack recorded by Herodotus.'<sup>18</sup> Lepreon, in the first place, is the least likely of the six Minyan cities to have been among the four or five attacked by the Eleians.<sup>19</sup>

The sacking of the Minyan cities, moreover, whether Lepreon was among them or not, may have been the consequence of rebellion, either during the late sixth and early fifth centuries, when the Makistians supported the Omphalionids and Phrixa, Epeion and Noudion may have taken one side or the other,<sup>20</sup> or in the mid-fifth century. An inscription from the third quarter of the fifth century BC found at Olympia seems to make internal arrangements for the Skillountians after a rebellion.<sup>21</sup> Although the name of the issuing authority is missing, the fact that fines are to be paid to Zeus Olympios suggests that the Eleians had reasserted their control,<sup>22</sup> and the context may have been a widespread insurgency to the south of the Alpheios. Neither dating, however, entails that the sacking of the Minyan cities reported by Herodotos was the original cause of their subjection to the Eleians, and the evidence for a fifth-century conquest of the districts to the south of the Alpheios is weak.

The late sixth-century inscription cited by Siewert as evidence of the transformation of an Olympic amphiktyony into an Eleian alliance, furthermore, rather suggests that the 'Minyan' communities to the south of the Alpheios had by then already become the subject allies of the Eleians. This appears to have come about as the result of Eleian cooperation with the Lakedaimonians in their early sixth-century war against the Argives led by Pheidon, when the Eleians extended their influence as far south as the Neda River, the northern boundary of Messenia.<sup>23</sup> By this time, it seems, the region of Eleia comprised three categories of political community: the Eleian settlements of the Alpheios and Peneios valleys which in 471 BC were to become the demes of the synoikised *polis* of Elis; the Eleian *perioikoi*, fellow-donors of cult equipment at the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, who inhabited some of the country between the Alpheios and Peneios valleys; and the *symmakhoi* of the Eleians, who occupied various sites between the Alpheios and the Neda.<sup>24</sup>

### The Lakedaimonians and the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios

The river which ran through Sparta, the Eurotas, had its source in southern Arkadia, close to that of the Alpheios. The valleys of these two streams together constituted a great furrow in the Peloponnese, to the north-east of which lay the central Arkadian range and the long ridge of Mount Parnassos; and to the south-west Mount Lykaion, which reached towards Mount Taygetos. From prehistoric times human traffic must have moved along this rift, which, because it linked the Eurotas valley to the more open country of Eleia, constituted the easiest means of travel by land from northern Greece (after a short crossing of the Korinthian Gulf) into the southern Peloponnese. Pausanias relates that at the mythical time of the return of the descendants of Herakles from northern Greece to the Peloponnese, they engaged Oxylos, whose ancestors had come from Eleia, as a guide. The invaders granted Oxylos' request to return to Eleia, and he advised them to invade the Peloponnese by crossing the Korinthian Gulf, leading them from Naupaktos to Molykion at the north of the entrance to the Gulf, from which the crossing to Rhion on the opposite shore was the shortest. Fearing that if they saw the fertile

land of Eleia on their way south the Herakleids and their Dorian followers would take it for themselves, Oxylos led them through Arkadia instead.<sup>25</sup> Although the historicity of this myth is highly doubtful, Pausanias' audience was clearly ready to believe that at an earlier time the common route from the northern extremity of the Peloponnese into its southern river valleys ran through the low country of Eleia rather than across the high, rugged mountains of Arkadia.

When the deposed Lakedaimonian king Damaratos fled Sparta in the late 490s BC, he went first 'to Elis, declaring that he was going to Delphi to consult the oracle'.<sup>26</sup> Damaratos must have made his way up along the Eurotas valley from Sparta, following the course of the Alpheios as it passed by the Arkadian city of Heraia and then descending towards Olympia, thus appearing to take the usual route from Sparta to Delphi. At the beginning of the fourth century BC, the Lakedaimonian king Agis travelled to Delphi in order to dedicate a tenth part of the spoils of his recent campaigns against the Eleians to Apollo. On the return journey from Delphi, Agis became sick at Heraia, where he died.<sup>27</sup> It is likely that he had set out homewards from Delphi via Heraia because the journey between Sparta and Delphi generally passed along the Eurotas–Alpheios rift and included a visit to Olympia.<sup>28</sup>

Early in the fourth century BC, Xenophon built a temple of Artemis in the territory of Skillous, to the south of the Alpheios opposite Olympia. In the *Anabasis*, Xenophon describes the district in which it stood as 'that by which they travel from Lakedaimon to Olympia, about twenty stades from the temple of Zeus at Olympia'.<sup>29</sup> Pausanias describes his own journey from Heraia down into Eleia across the (Arkadian) Ladon and Erymanthos Rivers, that is, heading westward towards Olympia with the Alpheios on his left. Although he mentions certain features located to the south of the Alpheios, Pausanias continued along the right bank until he reached Olympia, apparently in order to view certain monuments associated by his time with the myth of Pelops.<sup>30</sup> In its lower portion the route from Heraia to Olympia must thus have run along both sides of the Alpheios. Pausanias makes it clear, however, that it could be crossed near Phrixa, so perhaps the usual route from Sparta, crossing the Alpheios near Phrixa and then recrossing just below its junction with the Kladeos (as Xenophon's report implies) was the most direct one. Pausanias saw a stele at Olympia which declared that the distance from the sanctuary to Lakedaimon was 660 *stadia*. If these were the same *stadia* of 166.7m each used by Eratosthenes, the distance would have been around 110km.<sup>31</sup> In more recent times, Pikoulas has found traces of ancient roads leading along the upper Eurotas towards the site of Megalopolis and from Gortys, north-west of the latter, to Heraia, matching the route described by Pausanias in the second century AD.<sup>32</sup> The road from Sparta through Megalopolis, Gortyn and Heraia to Olympia provided the Lakedaimonians with a convenient means of reaching the sanctuary of Zeus, with which they appear to have formed strong ties.

In the middle of the third century BC the ephor Lysandros plotted to depose King Leonidas II. In the context of this plot, Plutarch reports that the Spartan ephors customarily observed the sky on a clear night every eight years to wait for a sign. If they saw a shooting star, they brought the kings to trial for some

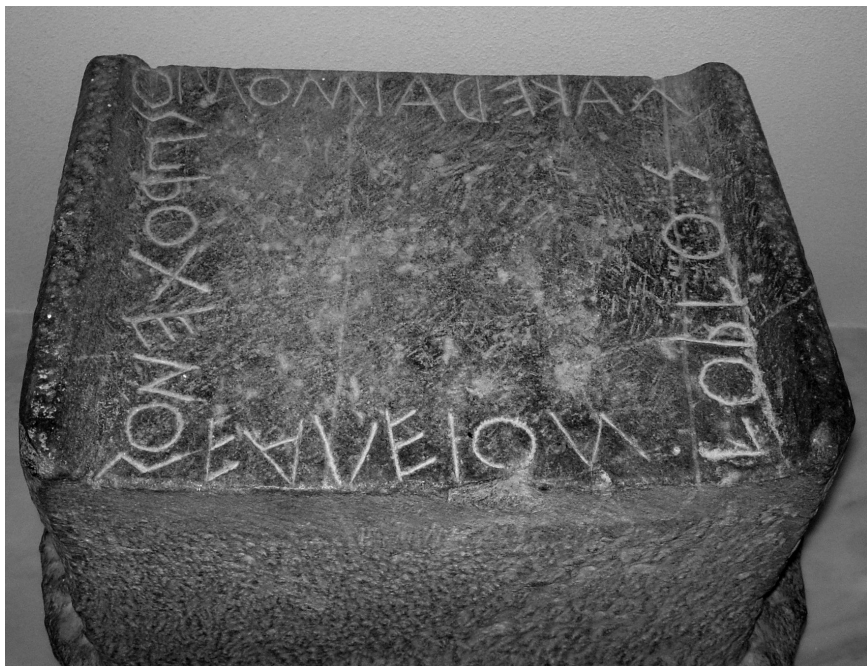
offence against the god and, says Plutarch, 'they depose them from office until an oracle from Delphi or Olympia comes to the aid of the condemned kings.'<sup>33</sup> The antiquity or otherwise of this custom cannot be established, and there is no secure evidence to prove that the Olympic oracle had even begun to operate before the late sixth century BC.<sup>34</sup> The procedure described by Plutarch, nevertheless, may have been carried out from at least the first decade of the fifth century, since when King Damaratos was deposed in the late 490s BC he did not flee Sparta until the authorities had consulted the oracle at Delphi. In this case, the Spartans seem to have chosen to consult Delphi rather than Olympia because, since Damaratos' opponent Kleomenes had corrupted the Delphians, they were more likely to get the response they wanted.<sup>35</sup>

Before the battle of Plataiai in 479 BC, the Eleian Iamid *manteis* Teisamenos and Agias were granted Spartan citizenship and permitted to establish a branch of their *genos*, which seems to have constituted a permanent Eleian settlement, in Sparta.<sup>36</sup> King Agis in the late fifth century BC went to Olympia on state instructions in order to sacrifice at the altar of Zeus before campaigning, though on this occasion he was refused access to the altar.<sup>37</sup> In 388 BC, when the Argives had declared a period of religious festivity for the purpose of preventing a Lakedaimonian invasion of their land, King Agesipolis went to Olympia to ask the oracle whether or not, in spite of this obvious ploy, he would be justified in invading Argos. Agesipolis received a positive reply, but went on to Delphi to ask Apollo if he felt the same as his father, which the son did. As Hönle observes, 'whereas the consultation of the oracle in Olympia was apparently not unusual for Sparta, the additional inquiry in Delphi lay entirely at the discretion of the king and was unmistakably a precautionary measure'.<sup>38</sup> There are likely to have been many unreported consultations of this kind.

Certain ancient texts suggest that the legendary Spartan reformer Lykourgos played a role in establishing the Olympic truce at the time when the Eleian Koroibos won the first recorded Olympic victory.<sup>39</sup> Since other sources report that the Eleians began to keep an Olympic victor list from the 28th Olympiad, Koroibos' victory, which may signal the actual commencement of the quadrennial festival, should be assigned to 668 BC.<sup>40</sup> Lykourgos' involvement is hardly credible, however, since the disc from Olympia which bore his name seems to have been created in the context of the outcome of the Eleian–Arkadian War in the fourth century BC.<sup>41</sup> Pausanias, on the other hand, records the victory of a Lakedaimonian called Akanthos in the fifteenth Olympiad and those of two more Lakedaimonians in the inaugural pentathlon and wrestling events in Ol. 18. Here he explains that he is counting from the *continuous* Olympics, that is, those which began with the victory of Koroibos.<sup>42</sup> This would place the first Lakedaimonian victory in 612 BC and the following two in 600 BC. It has been claimed that this record indicates a lack of Spartan participation in the earliest festivals, but there appears to have been only one event, the footrace, until the fourteenth 'continuous' Olympiad, 608 BC. Of the seventeen victors in the first fifteen Olympiads listed by Eusebios, seven are Messenian, four Eleian and two Korinthian, and there is one victor each from Dyme, Koroneia, Megara and Lakonia. The failure of any

Lakedaimonian to win in the first thirteen races is no proof that none competed from the start, and the victory of Akanthos rather suggests that they were in fact among the earliest competitors.<sup>43</sup>

Although it now seems unlikely that Lakedaimonian metalworkers were producing bronze tripods and votive figurines at Olympia during the eighth century BC,<sup>44</sup> literary evidence suggests that Lakedaimonian craftsmen were indeed active in the sanctuary later in the Archaic period. Pausanias, recording the presence of works of the sixth-century Lakedaimonians Dorykleidas, Theokles and Medon in the temple of Hera, declares that, like certain other dedicated images, these were ‘particularly ancient’.<sup>45</sup> There is, moreover, epigraphic evidence to suggest that the Spartan state enjoyed an official relationship with the shrine of Zeus. A bronze cauldron, also from the sixth century BC, which bears an inscription indicating that the Spartans dedicated it to Zeus Olympios, is the only example we have of an early dedication of cult equipment at Olympia by a community outside Eleia. Siewert infers from this inscription ‘a certain special role in Olympia’ for the Spartans.<sup>46</sup> Inscribed seats of honour for two Lakedaimonian *proxenoi* of the Eleians found at Olympia also suggest that they enjoyed a unique position in the sanctuary (Figure 6.1).<sup>47</sup>



*Figure 6.1* An inscribed seat of honour for a Lakedaimonian *proxenos* at Olympia. Photo courtesy of the author.



## The Eleians and the Lakedaimonians

Phlegon of Tralles records that 'the Eleians, wanting to help the Lakedaimonians when they were besieging Helos, sent to Delphi to consult the oracle', but were told to stay away from battle.<sup>48</sup> Since the Spartans appear to have established their dominance over Lakonia before the conquest of Messenia began towards the end of the seventh century BC, the historicity of Phlegon's uncorroborated report is doubtful. The Eleians, however, do seem to have become allies of the Lakedaimonians in their early sixth-century war against the Argives led by Pheidon, and military cooperation between the two peoples appears to have resulted in the Lakedaimonians securing control of Messenia and the Eleians extending their influence as far south as the Neda.<sup>49</sup> Those Eleians who, along with the Argives, took the Messenian side in the Second Messenian War towards the end of the Archaic period are likely to have been members of the Omphalionid grouping, so the remaining Eleians most likely continued to sympathise with the Lakedaimonians.<sup>50</sup>

After the failure of the Spartans and their allies to halt the Persian invasion of Greece at Thermopylai in 480 BC the Peloponnesians built a wall across the Isthmos of Korinth. Herodotos includes the Eleians in his list of those Greeks who contributed towards this effort. He also records that the Eleians were late for the battle of Plataiai (479 BC), went home in disappointment and banished their leaders. Diodoros, however, in two separate fragments, might at first appear to contradict Herodotos. In the first of these, he reports that the Eleians 'did not join in the campaign against Xerxes, but were sent away because of their responsibility for the honour due to the god'. In the second passage, similarly, we find that 'when Xerxes marched against the Greeks with so many thousands, they were sent away from the campaign by the allies, having been commanded by the leaders that they would be doing enough if they took care of honouring the gods.'<sup>51</sup>

These fragments of Diodoros do not indicate just when the leaders of the allies sent the Eleians away, but he implies that it was quite early in the war, so perhaps this event occurred late in the summer of 480 BC and not long before the battle of Thermopylai. This was the same year in which, according to the chronology determined above, the Eleians confronted the Omphalionid leader Damophon, forcing him to abandon his schemes against them.<sup>52</sup> Damophon may have been tempted to make these preparations at the very time when the troops of the 'official' Eleians had momentarily joined the forces opposed to Xerxes. Diodoros' report that the Eleians were sent home for the purpose of 'honouring the gods' might thus be taken to suggest that they were instructed to confront the Omphalionid forces and thereby retain control of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios for the anti-Persian Greeks led by the Spartans. After dealing with the situation at home in this way in 480, they may have set out for Plataiai in 479 BC in the hope of taking part in the battle there, but, as Herodotos reports, failed to arrive in time. We need not choose between Herodotos and Diodoros here, since each seems to have recorded a different episode during Xerxes' invasion, and both reports may be correct.

In addition to their lack of participation at either Thermopylai or Plataiai, and despite their clear naval potential, the Eleians do not appear in Herodotos' list of those who contributed ships to the allied fleets at either Artemision or Salamis.<sup>53</sup> These observations make it problematic that their name, but not that of the Mantineians, who were also late for Plataiai, was included on the serpent column erected at Delphi to commemorate the victory of the Spartan-led forces.<sup>54</sup> It is unlikely that the Eleians would have been acknowledged on the column on account of their part in building the wall across the Isthmos, since 'all of the Arkadians', who must have included the Mantineians, took part, yet the Mantineians were not recognised in this way. As Meiggs and Lewis conjecture, the Eleians' control of Olympia could have attracted 'special consideration'.<sup>55</sup> Greek support for resistance to the Persians was far from universal: the Thebans joined the invaders, the Argives were probably pro-Persian, and we can hardly doubt that the Messenians would have renewed their efforts to free themselves from the Spartans if the Persians had been able to invade the Peloponnese. Given the Argive and Omphalionid support for the Messenians during the Second Messenian War reported by our sources, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Omphalionids, too, would have been sympathetic towards the Persians. By securing their control of Olympia in opposition to such forces, the 'official' Eleians would have been entitled to recognition on the serpent column, even though they had not fought in any of the battles against the invaders.

Certain ancient authors suggest that during the Archaic period, on account of their administration of the shrine of Olympian Zeus, the Eleians had been declared sacred and inviolable and, as a consequence, were excluded from taking part in warfare outside their territory.<sup>56</sup> Additional texts seem to corroborate this evidence.<sup>57</sup> Since the question of whether or not the *asylia* ('sacred inviolability') of the Eleians was an authentic feature of their history has a bearing on the nature of their relationship with their neighbours, it deserves some discussion. I have argued elsewhere that it is likely to have been declared by the Spartans once they had settled the River Neda as the boundary between Eleian territory and their own early in the sixth century.<sup>58</sup> Modern scholars often cite certain works of Georg Busolt and Eduard Meyer as proof that the Eleian *asylia* never existed, but the arguments contained in these works are unconvincing: Busolt's claims seem to reflect his determination to uphold Spartan propriety; and Meyer merely conjectures that the evidence for the *asylia* is the product of Eleian propaganda fabricated by the Classical sophist Hippias of Elis.<sup>59</sup> There is no need to repeat my reservations concerning the arguments of Busolt and Meyer here, but it is necessary to reply to James Roy's response to my concerns.<sup>60</sup>

Roy correctly points out that while I criticise Busolt for not substantiating his preference for Herodotos' explanation of the absence of the Eleians from the battle of Plataiai over that of Diodoros, I fail to support my own preference for Diodoros.<sup>61</sup> As made clear above, however, a closer examination of the passage from Diodoros reveals that it most likely concerns an event that occurred in 480 rather than 479 BC, and we need not choose between these two reports. This conclusion would entail, nevertheless, that certain of the Eleians had indeed made a



move to join the anti-Persian forces in 479 and that their governing body, most likely suspecting that the generals had purposely delayed their march, prosecuted them for failing to arrive on time. The tardiness of the Eleian generals and their subsequent banishment reported by Herodotos suggests that even the 'official' Eleians were divided among themselves at the time. Perhaps debate between two factions was focused on the delicate question of whether or not their sacred status prohibited them from fighting outside Eleia, even when its basis, their control of Olympia, was under threat from the Persian invaders. Roy also doubts my conclusion that certain events reported by Herodotos, Strabo and Pausanias, often seen as evidence of Eleian conquests to the south of the Alpheios, constituted a civil war among the Eleians during the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC.<sup>62</sup> While, as acknowledged above, the sacking reported by Herodotos of most of the six 'Minyan' cities during his lifetime may yet have occurred after the synoikism,<sup>63</sup> this would still not entail that these communities had been independent beforehand. The well-founded scepticism of several scholars (Roy now among them) concerning the historicity of an Archaic Eleian conquest of 'Pisa', in addition, tends to favour the proposition that conflicts reported in our sources were episodes in an internal struggle rather than manifestations of Eleian expansionism.<sup>64</sup>

Roy's main criticism, however, is that I fail to take full account of certain passages of Thucydides. If Eleian territory were permanently protected by the *asylia*, he maintains, the Eleians would have had no need to accuse the Spartans of breaking the Olympic truce when, just before the Olympic games of 420 BC, the latter moved their hoplites into Lepreon.<sup>65</sup> In investigating this question, we must begin by asking what might have motivated each of these two communities to agree early in the sixth century BC that the Eleians should be considered sacred and inviolable. To this period appear to belong the following events: Pheidon's takeover of the Olympic festival; his defeat at the hands of the Lakedaimonians and Eleians; and the subjection of Messenia to the Spartans and the districts south of the Alpheios to the Eleians.<sup>66</sup> By means of declaring that the Eleians should be left to themselves so long as they did not attempt to extend their influence beyond Eleia, the Lakedaimonians may have hoped both to secure their own rule over Messenia and to neutralise a potential opponent of their hegemony in the Peloponnese. Through various arrangements, it would then seem, the Spartans during the course of the sixth century secured their dominant position in the Peloponnese and isolated their rivals, the Argives: they ruled over the Messenians; they made unilateral alliances with certain *poleis* in Arkadia and the north-eastern Peloponnese; and they kept the Eleians neutral by declaring them sacred and inviolable.

The willingness of the Eleians to accept the conditions of a declaration of *asylia* could be understood in the context of the transformation of the sanctuary of Olympia around the beginning of the sixth century BC. At this time the older altar of ash was levelled, the first temple of Zeus Olympios was constructed and certain Greek *poleis* began to build treasuries within the sacred confines.<sup>67</sup> It was in this period, too, that the Eleian embassy to the Pharaoh Psammetikhos II, who reigned from 595 to 589 BC, was received in Karnak, where at least one aspect of the management of the festival of Olympian Zeus was discussed.<sup>68</sup>

If the Eleians had regained control of the sanctuary from Pheidon around the time of the outbreak of a first Messenian War c.600,<sup>69</sup> the Eleian ambassadors would have consulted the authorities at Karnak not too long afterwards. The early sixth-century building programme at Olympia, indeed, including the construction of the first stone temple of Zeus in the sanctuary, may have come about as a result of the eye-widening effects upon the Eleian ambassadors of their visit to the capital city and central shrine of New Kingdom Egypt. In this context, it would be surprising if the *proxenoi* who sat on the Olympic Council had not viewed any declaration that their land and people were sacred and inviolable as a deserved and welcome vindication of their status as the widely acknowledged custodians of the central shrine of the senior Greek deity.

It is unlikely, however, that such a declaration would have been accompanied by either the stipulation of set penalties for infringement or the establishment of an institution entrusted with imposing them. More likely, as a passage from Diodoros implies, the Lakedaimonians were themselves expected to take the lead in punishing offenders.<sup>70</sup> If so, no sanctions could have been prescribed against them for violations and no institution would have been empowered to enforce any. What then could the Eleians possibly have hoped to gain in 421 BC from accusing the Lakedaimonians of violating a sacrosanctity, the very existence of which depended upon their concurrence, and for dealing with the transgression of which there was no tribunal and no prescribed penalty? Penalties for violation of the Olympic truce, on the other hand, as this episode reveals, were clearly laid down, and a well-established body empowered to impose them.<sup>71</sup> Even if the Eleians had bothered to mention their sacred inviolability during the course of the negotiations, Thucydides, who paid little attention to religious matters,<sup>72</sup> could still have chosen to omit it from his report.

The historicity of an Archaic declaration of *asylia* is not crucial to the other suggestions about Eleian history made in this book, and there is no need to insist upon it here. Despite Roy's objections, however, it remains credible that it was on account of the sacred status that had been conferred upon them by virtue of their custodianship of Olympia that the Eleians refrained, when they could, from external warfare from the early sixth century until the late fifth. There can never be any certainty about this, of course, since such an early declaration is unlikely to have been inscribed on either bronze or stone and no source reports that it was. The arguments of Busolt and Meyer, on the other hand, have been shown to be inconclusive, and scholars can no longer simply refer to their work without further explanation. As Roy helpfully concludes, 'there is scope for more extended discussion.'<sup>73</sup>

The Eleian synoikism and adoption of a democratic constitution less than a decade after the battle of Plataiai are unlikely to have pleased the vigorously pro-aristocratic faction which was often dominant at Sparta during Classical times.<sup>74</sup> The Lakedaimonians, however, faced considerable difficulties of their own after the great earthquake of 464 BC, such as the Messenian revolt, the hostility of Argos and certain Arkadian communities led by the Tegeans and the intervention of the Athenians on the Argive side in what we call 'the First Peloponnesian War'.

Under these circumstances, they appear to have found it convenient to leave the Eleians, whose strength is likely to have increased by this time as a result of the resolution of their internal troubles and the consequent synoikism,<sup>75</sup> to themselves. The Lakedaimonian dedication on the apex of the new temple at Olympia of a golden shield to commemorate their victory over the Athenians and their allies at Tangara in 457 BC suggests that there had been no open break in relations.<sup>76</sup> By choosing, despite their distaste for democratic institutions, to respect Eleian neutrality, the Lakedaimonians would have been able to avoid adding to their own already considerable difficulties. There is nothing to indicate that the Eleians took either side in the fighting between the Argive and Lakedaimonian alliances leading up to and including the First Peloponnesian War, and some evidence to suggest that they did not. Diodoros, in a passage which closely follows his explanation of why the Eleians did not join in the war against Xerxes and which thus seems to refer to the period following soon after that war (rather than to all subsequent Greek history!), makes it clear that 'they kept to themselves throughout the internal wars of the Greeks, none of whom troubled them because they were all zealous to keep their countryside and their city sacred and inviolable.'<sup>77</sup> Even scholars who are not prepared to accept Diodoros' explanation for Eleian neutrality during the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars might concede the reality of the phenomenon he is attempting to explain.<sup>78</sup>

It is likely that the Eleians were suspicious enough of the intentions of the Lakedaimonians during the second quarter of the fifth century BC to refuse any request for passage through their territory. Thucydides observes that the Lakedaimonians rarely opposed the growth of Athenian power during the half-century following the defeat of the Persians because they were, as always, slow to go to war, but also because they were 'shut out by wars at home'.<sup>79</sup> 'Home' in this case may well have been the Peloponnese as a whole. The hostility of the Argives and those of the Arkadians led by the Tegeans must have made it difficult for the Lakedaimonians to send help to the Corinthians and their other allies in the north-east Peloponnese, since any route through either Argos or southern Arkadia would have been closed to them. While Argive and Arkadian hostility alone would not have amounted to the containment of the Lakedaimonians within the confines of their own territory in the southern Peloponnese during this period, together with the unaccommodating neutrality of the Eleians it may easily have kept them 'shut out' by land from the conflict in the north.<sup>80</sup>

We are not entitled to assume that the Eleians were enrolled in a military alliance headed by the Lakedaimonians at any time between the defeat of Pheidon of Argos early in the sixth century BC and the outbreak of the Arkhidamian War in 431. The arguments of the late twentieth and early twenty-first-century scholars who express scepticism about the existence of a regularly constituted 'Peloponnesian League' are compelling,<sup>81</sup> and the expression 'the Lakedaimonians and their allies' found in Thucydides and other ancient texts appears sufficient to describe the Lakedaimonians and the states under their leadership. While some scholars may wish to maintain that a core of regular allies was tied to the Lakedaimonians by

means of a series of bilateral military alliances, we need no longer assume that the Eleians would have belonged to such a group.<sup>82</sup> More likely, the Lakedaimonians had marked the Neda River as the boundary between the Spartan and Eleian spheres and were prepared to leave the Eleians to themselves on condition that they did not attempt to exert their military power beyond the agreed confines.

### **The Eleians and the Corinthians**

The Eleians appear to have enjoyed close relations with the Corinthians from quite an early period. Corinthian tiles dating from the seventh century have been found at Pheia and from as early as the Late Geometric period in Olympia, where there may have been an Archaic Corinthian treasury.<sup>83</sup> Strabo informs us that near the mouth of the Alpheios was a sacred grove of Artemis Alpheionia/Alpheiousa, containing a temple in which there were some very famous paintings by two Corinthians, Kleanthes and Aregon.<sup>84</sup> On the grounds of both the drawing style which Pliny says Kleanthes invented and certain stylistic aspects revealed by Athenaios' description, Taita plausibly dates the paintings to early in the seventh century BC.<sup>85</sup> Since they appear to have been votive offerings, they suggest 'a collaboration between the builders of the sanctuary and the Corinthians concerning the decoration'.<sup>86</sup> The seventh-century Corinthian tyrant Kypselos dedicated at Olympia a golden statue of Zeus, one which Strabo appears to place second only to Pheidias' later work.<sup>87</sup> During the seventh and sixth centuries BC, the Eleians and Corinthians seem contemporaneously to have established colonies in southern Epeiros and the Ambrakian Gulf.<sup>88</sup> The magnificently carved and inlaid Chest of Kypselos which Pausanias saw in the temple of Hera at Olympia was most likely an offering of the Corinthians from early in the sixth century BC.<sup>89</sup>

Two Corinthian runners are listed among the earliest Olympic victors, but Eleian athletes did not compete in the Isthmian games.<sup>90</sup> Pausanias knows of three explanations for the absence of the Eleians: they had boycotted the festival because the Corinthians refused to exclude the Argives from competing after Herakles had murdered two Eleian sacred envoys to Isthmia; the Corinthians had excluded the Eleians from the games after they refused to allow them to inscribe their name instead of that of Kypselos on the golden statue which he had dedicated at Olympia; and the Eleians had kept away from the festival after two Eleian boys had been killed by their fellow competitors before they could enter the wrestling ring. Although Pausanias finds the first explanation most convincing,<sup>91</sup> it is, like the third, purely mythical. He dismisses the second explanation on the grounds that if it were true the Corinthians would have stopped competing at Olympia, but we could also argue with Plutarch's Philinos that in the first explanation we would expect the Eleians to have excluded the Corinthians, rather than the other way round. The second explanation, apparently favoured by the guides at Delphi in Roman times, is the only one of the three with any claim to historicity.<sup>92</sup> It suggests that the Eleians had enjoyed particularly close relations with Kypselos.

Taita concludes that the absence of the Eleians from the Isthmian festival reflects 'tensions between Elis and Corinth' which she aligns with Corinthian

support for the 'Pisatans' early in the sixth century BC, but the struggle between the Eleians and those whom Pausanias calls 'Pisaians' seems to belong to a much later period.<sup>93</sup> When Dyspontion was destroyed by 'the Eleians' during this conflict, the majority of its people settled in Epidamnos and Apollonia, the first a colony of the Kerkyraians (themselves colonists from Korinth) and the second a Korinthian colony, both located on the Adriatic. We might see this as evidence that during the period before the synoikism the Korinthians were sympathetic to the Omphalionid grouping rather than the 'official' Eleians.<sup>94</sup> During the Persian invasion of Greece, however, the latter appear to have favoured the same side as the Korinthians. The lack of later testimonies of good relations between the Eleians and Korinthians noted by Taita may simply reflect the military orientation of our literary evidence for interstate relations in Greece during the five decades between the Persian invasion and the outbreak of the Arkhidamian War, when the Eleians appear to have remained within the confines of their region.<sup>95</sup>

In the context of warfare during the last third of the fifth century we again find evidence of close relations between these two peoples. Not long before 435 BC the democrats of Epidamnos expelled the aristocrats. These exiles, along with the Illyrians of the surrounding district, began to plunder the people remaining in the city, who appealed to the Kerkyraians, but to no avail. On the advice of the oracle at Delphi, the Epidamnian democrats then turned their city over to the Korinthians, who sent a force of their own, along with Ambrakians and Leukadians (both also Korinthian colonists) to support the democrats. In response, the exiled Epidamnian nobles appealed to the Kerkyraians, who besieged the city. In 435, the Korinthians began to equip a force for the relief of Epidamnos and announced that they had decided to recolonise the place, inviting new colonists on the basis of equality. To escort the colonists, they assembled a fleet of ships contributed, aside from themselves, by the Megarians, Epidaurians, Hermioneians, Troizenians, Ambrakians, Leukadians and Palians of Kephallenia. In addition, they asked the Thebans and Phleiasians for money, and the Eleians provided both money and empty ships.<sup>96</sup> While it is likely that the Thebans and Phleiasians were asked for neither naval personnel nor ships because neither possessed a fleet, the Korinthian request to the Eleians for unmanned ships appears to reflect a respect for their preference for refraining from military activities outside Eleia. The fact that the request was made at all, however, requires explanation.

Thucydides refers to those who attempted to relieve Epidamnos in 435 BC as 'the Korinthians and their allies'.<sup>97</sup> This was clearly not an expedition undertaken by these forces as allies of the Lakedaimonians, but purely a Korinthian-led venture. The Lakedaimonians, on the contrary, supported a Kerkyraian delegation which attempted to persuade the Korinthians to withdraw from Epidamnos.<sup>98</sup> While we cannot assume that the expression 'the Korinthians and their allies' denotes a permanent alliance, there are clear signs of a Korinthian hegemony in north-western Greece during the latter half of the fifth century BC. By 435 BC Korinth seems to have established 'a position of political supremacy with regard to her colonies'.<sup>99</sup> The Leukadians gave the Korinthians their full support in the

dispute over Epidamnos.<sup>100</sup> The Apollonians shared with the Korinthians the spoils from a war against the neighbouring cities and facilitated the march of the initial Korinthian and allied garrison to Epidamnos.<sup>101</sup> Both the Ambrakians and Leukadians provided soldiers for the garrison and ships to escort the colonists, and they continued to support the Korinthians as the dispute developed, contributing ships to the fleet that attacked Kerkyra in 433 BC.<sup>102</sup> Both peoples provided ships for the Peloponnesian fleet right from the beginning of the war against the Athenians, and the Ambrakians initiated three campaigns against the Amphilokhians, allies of the Athenians. The extent of the casualties which the Ambrakians suffered in 426 BC obliged the Korinthians to spare 300 hoplites to prevent their city from being captured.<sup>103</sup> The Leukadians, too, suffered on account of their loyalty to the Korinthians and received a Korinthian garrison.<sup>104</sup> Despite these setbacks, both colonies later made contributions to the defence of Syrakousai and the war in the Aegean.<sup>105</sup> The truest measure of the extent to which the foreign policy of the Ambrakians and Leukadians was dominated by the Korinthians, however, is the stance of these two *poleis* after the defeat of Athens in 404 BC: in 395, they joined, together with the Korinthians, in the coalition against the Lakedaimonians; and when the Korinthians returned to the Lakedaimonian alliance in 386 BC, so did they.<sup>106</sup>

By the mid-fifth century BC, with the exception of the Kerkyraians, the colonies of the Korinthians in north-western Greece thus appear to have become their subject allies, but Korinthian influence in the north-west did not end there. The territory of the tribes who supported the forces of the Spartan commander Knemos in Akarnania in 429 BC (the Khaones, Thesprotoi, Molossoi, Atintnes, Parauaiioi and Orestai) included all of Epeiros, extending to the borders of Thessaly, Makedon and Illyria.<sup>107</sup> Before the battle of Sybota in 433 BC, Thucydides informs us, 'many of the barbarians in the hinterland also came to help the Korinthians, since the inlanders in this region have always been their allies.'<sup>108</sup> The Korinthians' acceptance of the Epidamnian request for aid in 435 may suggest that they were competing with the Kerkyraians for influence in the north-west,<sup>109</sup> and we can at least conclude that they were determined to defend their interests in that sphere.

The Eleians also had colonies in the north-west, all in Kassopaia, southern Epeiros.<sup>110</sup> They may have felt that their own vital interests, including the maintenance of their lines of communication between the two sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia and Dodona, would be best served by cooperation with the Korinthians, the dominant power in the region. The ten ships which the Eleians contributed to the Korinthian fleet defeated by the Kerkyraians and Athenians at Sybota in 433 BC, in contrast to those provided in 435, appear to have been manned. In this case, Thucydides lists the Eleian ships in precisely the same way he lists those contributed by the other seafaring allies of the Korinthians, adding that each of these contingents came with its own general.<sup>111</sup> When the Korinthians and their allies sailed from Leukas, 'they came to Kheimerion, in the land of the Thesprotians', where they camped. This Kheimerion is the promontory adjacent to the Glykys Limen, the harbour at the mouth of the Akheron River above which



lay the Eleian colony of Pandosia.<sup>112</sup> Not only did the Eleians provide manned warships for this campaign, the allied fleet also made its base in the harbour of one of their colonies.

One of the most significant buildings in the *agora* of the city of Elis was the Kerkyraian stoa. According to the Eleians of Pausanias' time, this stoa was constructed from the spoils of a retaliatory raid against the Kerkyraians.<sup>113</sup> Pausanias gives no context for this raid, but it was most likely a response to the naval attack on the Eleian port of Kyllene which the Kerkyraians had carried out because of the money and empty ships which the Eleians had provided for the Korinthian and allied campaign of 435 BC.<sup>114</sup> If so, the Eleians would seem to have been drawn into the campaigns against the Kerkyraians by stages. At first, they simply lent material aid in the form of money and ships in order to support the efforts of the Korinthians to maintain or expand their sphere of influence in the north-west. Because of this, the Kerkyraians attacked Kyllene, and the Eleians could feel justified in responding by making the raid on Kerkyra which provided the spoils used to construct the stoa. Once this step had been taken, the transition to providing manned ships to join the Korinthian fleet which found itself engaged with the Athenians at Sybota in 433 BC must barely have been noticeable.

### The Eleians in the Arkhidamian War

In 432 BC, as Thucydides explains, the Lakedaimonians invited to Sparta 'their allies and anyone else who said they had been wronged by the Athenians'.<sup>115</sup> The presence of the Eleians in the Korinthian and allied fleet which had been defeated at Sybota in 433 BC suggests that they were among those who accepted this invitation and joined the Korinthians in urging the Lakedaimonians to go to war against the Athenians. When at a subsequent meeting the Korinthians speak of the necessity for those who live in the interior to aid those situated on the sea routes, the Eleians seem to have been included among the latter, since the Korinthians suggest that the Peloponnesians would have access to the funds stored in Delphi and Olympia, unlikely in the case of Olympia if the Eleians were not counted among their prospective allies. Thucydides includes the Eleians in his lists of those who provided ships for the Peloponnesian fleet and who were members of the Lakedaimonian alliance during the war.<sup>116</sup>

Pausanias reports, rather puzzlingly, that the Eleians 'fought together with the Lakedaimonians in the war against the Athenians contrary to their will'.<sup>117</sup> Perhaps this statement simply indicates that the Eleians would rather not have fought the Athenians, but felt compelled to do so after the battle of Sybota because the Athenians had assisted the Kerkyraians, who had previously raided Eleian territory. There is reason to believe, in fact, that the Eleians often enjoyed friendly relations with the Athenians, and in particular with the associates of Perikles. During the period between the expulsion of the Persians and the outbreak of the Arkhidamian War, Eleian colonists made up one of the ten tribes of the Athenian colony at Thourioi.<sup>118</sup> The Athenian sculptor Pheidias and his brother Panainos worked on the statue of Zeus Olympios, probably in the 430s BC and thus not



long before the outbreak of the war,<sup>119</sup> and Pheidias was also responsible for two chryselephantine statues in the city of Elis, an Aphrodite Ouranos and, in her sanctuary on the akropolis, an Athena.<sup>120</sup> Alkibiades, who had been a ward of Perikles and was perhaps raised in his home, appears to have enjoyed a particularly close relationship with the Eleians.<sup>121</sup> In 420 BC he urged the Argives to include the Eleians and Mantineians in their alliance with the Athenians, and may even have persuaded them to leave the Lakedaimonian alliance.<sup>122</sup> In 419 BC, when the Athenians sent a force to aid the Argives, he went with them 'privately, because of his friendly relations with the Eleians and Mantineians'.<sup>123</sup> Alkibiades appears to have been a regular contender in the chariot race at Olympia, since he boasted to the Athenians that he had once entered seven chariots.<sup>124</sup> When he escaped from the Athenian authorities at Thourioi in 415 BC, Alkibiades made straight for the Eleian port of Kyllene. He was afraid, nevertheless, to enter Lakedaimonian territory, and remained in Eleia until the Spartans summoned him under protection.<sup>125</sup> The close relations that Alkibiades enjoyed with the Eleians appear to have been enduring, since a later Alkibiades was influential with the managers of the games at Olympia.<sup>126</sup> Despite their apparently friendly relations with the associates of Perikles, it was an Athens led by Perikles himself with which the Eleians went to war in 431 BC, though perhaps, as Pausanias reports, 'contrary to their will' because their shared interests with the Corinthians in north-western Greece had drawn them into this conflict.

In the first year of the war a fleet of 100 Athenian and 50 Kerkyraian ships made a series of raids on the Peloponnesian coast. They made for the coastal district near the Eleian port of Pheia, where 'they ravaged the land for two days, and when 300 picked troops from *koile* Elis and the perioikic territory of the Eleians, who were right there on the spot, came to the rescue, they defeated them in battle.'<sup>127</sup> The Athenians and their allies, who had just come from Mothone in Messenia, seem to have landed on the beach south-east of Cape Ikthys. When a storm blew up and they were exposed in a harbourless district, most of the Athenians and their allies boarded their ships and sailed around the promontory of Ikthys and into the harbour at Pheia. The Messenians and some other allies who could not get on board the ships in time marched overland and captured Pheia, but when the main body of the Eleians arrived the fleet picked up the Messenians and sailed off to Kephallenia.<sup>128</sup>

We need not assume that the Eleians contributed soldiers to the Peloponnesian and allied army which the Lakedaimonians regularly led into Attika during the Arkhidamian War. It is clear, however, as Thucydides plainly states, that they made a significant contribution to the Peloponnesian fleet.<sup>129</sup> When in 429 BC the Athenian commander Phormion defeated the Peloponnesians off Rhion at the mouth of the Korinithian Gulf,<sup>130</sup> there can be little doubt that the Peloponnesian fleet included Eleian ships. Pausanias saw at Delphi the figureheads of ships and bronze shields which the Athenians had taken from the Peloponnesians and their allies, and reports that the accompanying inscription recorded the names of the *poleis* from which they were taken: the Eleians headed the list, followed by the Lakedaimonians, Sikyonians, Megarians, Akhaian Pellenians, Ambrakians,

Leukadians and Corinthians.<sup>131</sup> This same inscription also recorded that from these spoils a sacrifice was offered at Rhion to Theseus and Poseidon, which fits well with Thucydides' report that Phormion set up a trophy at Molykreian Rhion, on the northern side of the mouth of the Gulf, dedicating one of twelve captured ships to Poseidon.<sup>132</sup> Pausanias reasonably infers that the inscription he saw at Delphi which mentioned the Eleians referred to the achievements of Phormion.

Kyllene appears to have been the main base of the Peloponnesian fleet in western waters. After the defeat at Rhion, the surviving ships sailed 'to Kyllene, the dockyard of the Eleians'. There they were joined by the Spartan admiral Knemos, who had sailed from Leukas with the allied ships from the north-west.<sup>133</sup> Soon afterwards, the Peloponnesian and allied fleet set out from Kyllene to confront the Athenians at Naupaktos, but after indecisive fighting, followed by the arrival of Athenian reinforcements, retired to Korinth and was disbanded at the beginning of winter.<sup>134</sup> In the following year, another Peloponnesian fleet was assembled for the relief of Mytilene, which the Athenians were besieging,<sup>135</sup> but took its time sailing around the Peloponnese and thus arrived too late to fulfil its mission. The allied commanders then landed at Erythrai on the coast of Asia to decide on their next move. There an Eleian called Teutiaplos proposed that they might yet take the Athenians at Mytilene by surprise, since they had only just captured the city. He addressed the leaders as follows: 'Alkidas and those of my fellow commanders of the Peloponnesians who are present'. Since Teutiaplos appears to include himself among the commanders, we can assume that he led an Eleian contingent.<sup>136</sup> The meeting decided against Teutiaplos' suggestion, and the Peloponnesians and their allies, evading the Athenians but becoming caught in a storm off Krete, made their way home to the Peloponnese.<sup>137</sup> There they found the Spartan officer Brasidas at Kyllene with thirteen Leukadian and Ambrakian ships. From Kyllene the Peloponnesians set out for Kerkyra, where they won a naval battle, but at the approach of a large Athenian fleet hauled their ships across the isthmus of Leukas and returned home, presumably to Kyllene.<sup>138</sup> In 425 BC the Peloponnesian fleet again sailed for Kerkyra, but was soon summoned to Pylos, where it was defeated in the harbour. Under the terms of the truce which followed, the ships were all surrendered. The Athenians kept them, and we hear no more of Peloponnesian fleets during the Arkhidamian War.<sup>139</sup>

The Eleians, it is clear, made a significant contribution to the Korinthian and allied fleet from the time of the attempt to recolonise Epidamnos until at least the middle years of the Arkhidamian War. They must have been disappointed with the results: defeat at Leukimme; a Kerkyraian raid on their territory; defeat at Sybota; an Athenian and allied raid on their coast and temporary seizure of one of their two major ports; defeat at Rhion; stalemate at best in a subsequent battle, even though the Peloponnesians greatly outnumbered their enemies; failure to either relieve Mytilene or follow the advice of their commander Teutiaplos to seize the initiative once it had fallen; a hasty retreat from Kerkyraian waters; and finally, the greatest blow of all, the surrender of the entire Peloponnesian fleet at Pylos. The Athenians, in addition, had successfully challenged the Korinthian hegemony in north-western Greece. They had bases en route to this region at

Kythera and Pylos, and the islands of Zakynthos and Kephallenia, both clearly visible from Eleia, were their allies.<sup>140</sup> Peloponnesian expeditions undertaken in 429 and 426 BC, despite the defeat suffered by Demosthenes in Aitolia in 426, had failed to either capture Amphilokhian Argos or take control of Akarnania, and the final campaign had ended in catastrophe for the Ambrakians.<sup>141</sup> In 425 BC the Athenians and Akarnanians had captured Anaktorion, the Korinthian colony at the mouth of the Ambrakian Gulf.<sup>142</sup> The Athenians were now in a position to deny the Eleians access to the Ambrakian Gulf and thus to their colonies on its northern shore, including Boukhetion, the gateway to Dodona. The route to their fourth colony, Pandosia on the Akheron, was vulnerable to attack from Kerkyra.<sup>143</sup> Because of these factors, one may suspect that even before the Lakedaimonians made peace with the Athenians, at least some of the Eleians had already begun to question the wisdom of their Lakedaimonian alliance.

## Notes

- 1 Siewert 1994, 262.
- 2 Minon 5 = *NIO* 2; Siewert 1994, 257–8; 2001, 249; Ebert and Siewert 1999, 391–412; cf. Taita 1999, 171.
- 3 Siewert 1994, 258; cf. Ebert and Siewert 1999, 403–4.
- 4 Pind. *Ol.* 3.12; this volume, pp. 18–20.
- 5 Hdt. 8.73.2; Taita 1999, 171–2; this volume, pp. 18–20, 58–62.
- 6 Siewert 1994, 258–62; cf. Ebert and Siewert 1999, 404–5; Siewert 2006, 50.
- 7 Siewert 1991, 83.
- 8 This volume, pp. 151–2, 154–5, 160–3.
- 9 Hdt. 4.148.4; Siewert 1991, 81–2.
- 10 Strabo 8.3.13; Tausend 1992, 20; Taita 1999, 178–9; Ruggeri 2004, 96–108; Mylonopoulos 2006, 139–40; this volume, pp. 21, 34.
- 11 Thuc. 5.31.2; Strabo 8.3.30.
- 12 Hdt. 4.148.4; Roy 1997, 282; 1999, 154; cf. Thommen 2013, 336.
- 13 Hdt. 9.28.4; ML 27.
- 14 Cf. Roy 1999, 154.
- 15 This volume, pp. 76–9.
- 16 Paus. 6.22.4.
- 17 Thuc. 5.31.2.
- 18 Roy 2013, 226.
- 19 This volume, p. 79.
- 20 Hdt. 4.148.4; this volume, p. 79.
- 21 Minon 5 = *NIO* 2.
- 22 Minon I, 161.
- 23 Strabo 8.3.30, 33; Paus. 4.4.4–8, 5.10; 6.22.2; Bourke 2011b, 418–19; this volume, p. 70.
- 24 Roy, e.g. at 2015a, 176, would combine the last two categories. For the distinction between the *perioikoi* and the *symmakhoi* during the Eleian War, this volume, pp. 160–3.
- 25 Paus. 5.3.6–4.1.
- 26 Hdt. 6.70.1.
- 27 Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.1; Paus. 3.8.7–8.
- 28 Cf. Leake 1830 III, 29; Grote 1907 III, 102.
- 29 Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.11.
- 30 Paus. 6.21.3–9, 22.1–2; 8.26.3.
- 31 Paus. 6.16.8; Gulbekian 1987, 359–63; cf. Grote 1907 III, 102 and n.3.

- 32 Paus. 26.8, 28.7, 35.3; Pikoulas 1999, 272.21, 295.45 with maps 3 and 4.
- 33 Plut. *Agis* 11.5; Parke 1945, 106; Hönle 1972, 20.
- 34 Parke 1945, 106; Hönle 1972, 20–1; Bourke 2014, 26–7; this volume, p. 38.
- 35 Hdt. 6.61.1, 64, 65.1–66.2; Parke 1945, 106–8.
- 36 Hdt. 9.33.1; Paus 3.11.5–8; Plut. *Arist.* 11.2; *NIO* 5A; Taita 2001, 39–85; Siewert 2006, 43–5; Bourke 2014, 15–16.
- 37 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.22; Hönle 1972, 22.
- 38 Arist. *Rhet.* 2.23.12, 1398b; Hönle 1972, 20.
- 39 Plut. *Lyk.* 1.1; Paus. 5.4.5–6, 8.5–6, 9.4, 20.1; 8.26.4; cf. Higbie 1999, 69 and n.68.
- 40 Aristodemos of Elis *FGrH* 414 F 1; Ti. Claudius Polybius *FGrH* 254 F 2; Euseb. *Chron.* Schöne I, 194.10–26; this volume, p. 71.
- 41 Thommen 2013, 337; this volume, pp. 59, 196–7.
- 42 Paus. 5.8.6–7; cf. Euseb. *Chron.* Schöne I, 194; Dion Hal. *Roman Antiquities* 7.72.3; Moretti nos. 17, 21, 22.
- 43 Paus. 5.8.6; Dickins 1912, 10–11.
- 44 This volume, pp. 40–1.
- 45 Paus. 5.17.1–3.
- 46 *IvO* 244; Siewert 1991, 81.1, 84.
- 47 Siewert 1991, 84.
- 48 Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH* 257 F 19.
- 49 Strabo 8.3.30, 33; Paus. 4.4.4–8, 5.10; 6.22.2; this volume, p. 70.
- 50 Strabo 8.4.10; Paus. 4.15.7, cf. 17.2, 7; this volume, pp. 76–7.
- 51 Hdt. 8.71.1–2, 72; 9.77.3; Diod. 8.1.2, 3; cf. Andrewes 1952, 2; Lewis 1992, 104.
- 52 This volume, pp. 74–6.
- 53 Hdt. 8.1.1–2, 42.2–48.
- 54 *IGA* 70.26; ML 27. Paus. 5.4.7, too, records that they took part in the struggle against the Persian invaders.
- 55 Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 60.
- 56 Polyb. 4.73.9–10, 74.1–8; Diod. 8.1.1, 2; 14.17.11; Strabo 8.1.2, 3.33; Phlegon of Tralles *FGrH* 1.9; cf. Bourke 2011b, 413–15.
- 57 Bourke 2011b, 415–17.
- 58 Bourke 2011b, 417–20.
- 59 Busolt 1880, 18–34; Meyer 1892, 242 n.1; 1937, 342 n.; Walbank 1957, 526; Rigsby 1996, 43 with n.6; cf. Bourke 2011b, 420–8.
- 60 Roy 2013, 224–6; cf. 2015b, 154.
- 61 Roy 2013, 224–5; cf. Bourke 2011b, 422–3; Hdt. 9.77.2; Diod. 8.1.2.
- 62 Roy 2013, 225; cf. Bourke 2011b, 428–9.
- 63 This volume, p. 79.
- 64 This volume, Ch. 3; Roy 2012, 131–2; 2013, 226 n.12.
- 65 Roy 2013, 224; this volume, pp. 133–4, 139–42.
- 66 This volume, p. 70.
- 67 This volume, pp. 37–9.
- 68 This volume, pp. 42–3.
- 69 This volume, pp. 69–74.
- 70 Diod. 8.1.1.
- 71 A further point made by Roy is dealt with this volume, p. 139.
- 72 Hornblower 1992, 169–97.
- 73 Roy 2013, 226.
- 74 On Spartan support for oligarchy in general, see Thuc. 1.19; Arist. *Pol.* 5.6.9, 1307b.22–4; Diod. 15.45.1; Robinson 2011, 202 n.50.
- 75 Cf. Hornblower 1983, 25.
- 76 Paus. 5.10.4; this volume, p. 74.
- 77 Diod. 8.1.2.

- 78 As Roy 2015a, 176 notes, in general 'Elis made little attempt to extend its domination beyond the limits of Eleia'.
- 79 Thuc. 1.118.2.
- 80 Hdt. 9.35.2; Thuc. 1.101.1–103.4, 105.1–108.5, 111.1–115.1; Isok. 6.99; Strabo 8.6.19; Diod. 11.65.4, 78.1–4, 79.1–4, 80.1–2; Paus. 1.15.1; 3.11.7; 5.10.4; 10.10.4.
- 81 Lendon 1994, 159–77; Bolmarcich 2005, 5–34; Yates 2005, 65–76.
- 82 Cf. Thommen 2013, 335.
- 83 Taita 2013, 388–9.
- 84 Strabo 8.3.12.
- 85 Pliny *NH* 35.15–16; Athenaios *Deipn.* 8.346C; Taita 2013, 378.
- 86 Taita 2013, 387.
- 87 Strabo 8.3.30; Paus. 5.2.3.
- 88 This volume, p. 44.
- 89 Paus. 5.2.3, 17.5–19.10; Taita 2013, 387–8.
- 90 Moretti nos. 13, 14; Paus. 5.2.1–5; 6.3.9, 16.2; Plut *Mor.* 400D–F.
- 91 Paus. 5.2.5.
- 92 Plut. *Mor.* 400E.
- 93 Taita 2013, 389–90; this volume, pp. 74–6.
- 94 Strabo 8.3.32; Paus. 6.22.4; Taita 2013, 388.
- 95 Taita 2013, 389.
- 96 Thuc. 1.24.1–27.2.
- 97 Thuc. 1.30.2.
- 98 Thuc. 1.46.1, cf. 27.2.
- 99 Graham, 1983, 137.
- 100 Thuc. 1.26.1, 27.2, 46.1; Graham 1983, 130; Salmon 1984, 273.
- 101 *IvO* 692; *LSAG* 221.21, 229 pl. 43 no. 21; Thuc. 1.26.2; Paus. 5.22.2–4; Beaumont 1952, 65; Graham 1983, 130–1 with n.1; Salmon 1984, 273–4 with n.13.
- 102 Thuc. 1.26.1, 27.2, 46.1, 48.4, 49.5.
- 103 Thuc. 2.68.1, 9, 80.1–82.1; 3.102.6–7, 105.1–141.4.
- 104 Thuc. 2.30.3–5, 91.2–3, 92.3; 3.7.1, 5, 94.1–3, 114.4; 4.42.3.
- 105 Thuc. 6.104.1; 7.7.1, 58.3; 8.106.3.
- 106 Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3; Diod 14.82.3. In 431 bc, the Corinthians also lent their support to the tyranny of Euarkhos at Astarkos: Thuc. 2.30.1, 33.1–2; Salmon 1984, 278–9.
- 107 Thuc. 2.80.5–6, cf. 68.9; Beaumont 1952, 63–4; Hammond 1967, 464 map 14; Salmon 1984, 273 fig. 17.
- 108 Thuc. 1.47.3.
- 109 Graham 1983, 132; cf. Kagan 1969, 217–18.
- 110 This volume, p. 44.
- 111 Thuc. 1.46.1–2.
- 112 Thuc. 1.46.3–5; this volume, p. 44.
- 113 Paus. 6.24.4.
- 114 Thuc. 1.30.2.
- 115 Thuc. 1.67.3–5.
- 116 Thuc. 1.120.2, 121.3; 2.9.3.
- 117 Paus. 5.4.7.
- 118 Diod. 12.11.3.
- 119 Gardner 1929, 280–5; Richter 1950, 222–6; Lawrence 1972, 215–27; Morgan 1990, 18; Lapatin 2001, 79 with nn.179–80; Hurwit 2005, 140–1; cf. Bourke 2011a, 16 n.38.
- 120 Paus. 6.25.1, 26.3.
- 121 Plut. *Alk.* 1.1; Corn. Nep. *Alk.* 2.1.
- 122 Thuc. 5.43.3, 44.2; Paus. 1.29.13; Plut. *Alk.* 15.1.
- 123 Diod. 12.79.1.
- 124 Thuc. 6.16.2.

- 125 Thuc. 6.88.9. Cornelius Nepos *Alk.* 4.4 tells a different story, in which Alkibiades goes from Elis to Sparta via Thebes.
- 126 Andok. *Against Alkibiades* 26.
- 127 Thuc. 2.25.3; Diod. 12.43.4.
- 128 Thuc. 2.25.1–5; Diod. 12.43.5. For the ancient topography, this volume, p. 9. Mothone is called ‘Methone’ in Thucydides, but see Shipley 2004, 564.
- 129 Thuc. 2.9.3.
- 130 Thuc. 2.84.1–4.
- 131 Paus. 10.11.6.
- 132 Thuc. 2.84.4, cf. 86.2–3.
- 133 Thuc. 2.84.5, 86.1, cf. 80.2–3.
- 134 Thuc. 2.86.1, 92.7.
- 135 Thuc. 3.16.3, 25.1, 26.1.
- 136 Thuc. 3.29.1–30.4.
- 137 Thuc. 3.31.1–33.3, 69.1.
- 138 Thuc. 3.69.2, 76–81.1.
- 139 Thuc. 4.2.3, 8.2, 11.2–14.5, 16.1, 23.1–2.
- 140 Thuc. 4.53.1–55.1; 2.7.3, 30.2, 33.2, 66.1, 80.1; 3.94.1, 95.2; 4.8.2–5, 13.2.
- 141 Thuc. 2.80.1–82.1; 3.94.1–98.5, 100.1–114.4; cf. 4.30.1.
- 142 Thuc. 4.49.1.
- 143 This volume, p. 44.

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## 7 Between the Arkhidamian and Dekeleian Wars

### The dispute over Lepreon

After a long series of conferences during the winter of 422/421 BC, the Spartans and Athenians agreed to end the Arkhidamian War by making a peace treaty based upon the principle that each side should restore to the other what it had gained during the war, with two exceptions: Plataiai in Boiotia and Nisaiai in Megara were to be kept by the Thebans and Athenians respectively.<sup>1</sup> At the very end of the winter, accordingly, the two leading powers swore to an agreement known as the Peace of Nikias and soon afterwards became allies.<sup>2</sup> The Eleians, however, along with the Boiotians, Corinthians and Megarians, were dissatisfied with the negotiations, so they did not vote in favour of the Peace.<sup>3</sup>

It is easy to account for the dissatisfaction of the Boiotians, who were required to return the recently captured, strategically located fortress of Panakton to the Athenians.<sup>4</sup> The Megarians, too, must have been greatly disappointed at the failure of the Peace to return to them their gateway to the Aegean, the port of Nisaiai.<sup>5</sup> Although the Corinthians used concern over the fate of their allies in Thrake as a pretext for not agreeing to the Peace, one of their main considerations appears to have been that the Spartans had been unable to recover Sollion and Anaktoron for them.<sup>6</sup> This is no mere quibble on the part of the Corinthians: Anaktoron commanded the entrance to the Ambrakian Gulf and was thus essential for maritime communications with the important colony of Ambrakia, which they had been obliged to reinforce with a garrison after a costly defeat at the hands of the Athenians and their allies in 426/425 BC.<sup>7</sup> The treaty had thus failed to evict the Athenians from the Corinthian sphere of influence in the north-west, for the defence of which the Corinthians and their allies had gone to war with the Kerkyraians and Athenians a decade earlier.<sup>8</sup>

Thucydides, unfortunately, provides no direct indication of the cause of the dissatisfaction of the Eleians. Some scholars have found an explanation in their dispute with the Spartans over Lepreon.<sup>9</sup> This would entail, however, that the Eleians had refused to agree to the Peace with the Athenians because of what the Spartans had taken from them, rather than, as in the case of the other dissatisfied allies, what the Athenians had gained or retained. It is thus not surprising that Thucydides, while explaining that the dispute over Lepreon later caused the

Eleians to become allies of the Argives, nowhere indicates that it made them reluctant to swear to the Peace of Nikias.<sup>10</sup>

It is now worth reflecting upon two conclusions reached earlier in this book: that the Eleians had a vested interest in a continuing Korinthian influence in the north-west, where their four colonies in Kassopaia seem part of a religious network which linked Olympia to the oracle of Zeus at Dodona; and that it was in the defence of those vested interests that they first contributed money and unmanned ships to the Korinthian campaign against Kerkyra, which ultimately brought them into armed conflict with the Athenian alliance.<sup>11</sup> The Eleians may thus have shared the dissatisfaction of the Korinthians over the failure of the Peace to restore the influence of the latter in the north-west. Factors closer to home, however, may also have influenced their decision, and we must now look closely at the dispute that arose between the Eleians and Spartans following the revolt of Lepreon from the Eleians during the Arkhidamian War, a dispute which led the Eleians to play, for a time, a focal role in Greek affairs.

Lepreon was a *polis* in the southern district of Eleia between Mount Lapithas and the Neda River, south-west from Mount Minthe and adjacent to Spartan-controlled Messenia. As we have seen, the Lepreans had earlier agreed to pay one talent each year to the treasury of Zeus in Olympia and thus to become the subject allies of the Eleians.<sup>12</sup> At some time during the Arkhidamian War, however, 'using the war as a pretext, they stopped', and the Eleians responded by attempting to force them to pay. The Lepreans then turned to the Spartans, who were entrusted with making a judgment on the issue.<sup>13</sup> The Eleians, it seems, at first expected to receive fair treatment, but something must have led them to suspect that they would not be dealt with justly,<sup>14</sup> since they later withdrew from the arbitration and began to ravage the land of the Lepreans. The Spartans went ahead and judged the case regardless, deciding, as the Eleians must have feared, that they were in the wrong and the Lepreans were *autonomoi*. When the Eleians refused to accept the decision, the Spartans sent a garrison of hoplites into Lepreon.<sup>15</sup>

The relative chronology of two events, the deployment of Lakedaimonian forces in Lepreon and the conclusion of the Peace of Nikias early in 421 BC, can be established only with great care. The Eleians appear to have made little contribution to the allied war effort after the surrender of the Peloponnesian fleet to the Athenians at Pylos in 425 BC.<sup>16</sup> It would seem pointless, however, for the Spartans to have sent troops into Lepreon at the expense of their war effort and at the risk of alienating these at least nominal allies while the war was still in progress. While the Leprean revolt certainly began during the Arkhidamian War, since the Lepreans used that war as a pretext for refusing to make their regular payment to Zeus Olympios, the Lakedaimonian judgment and intervention need not have preceded the Peace, as several scholars appear to assume.<sup>17</sup> Thucydides refers in three separate passages to Spartan actions in regard to Lepreon:

1 [5.31.4] At some unspecified time before the Eleians became allies of the Argives late in the summer of 421 BC, the Lakedaimonians sent a garrison of hoplites into Lepreon.<sup>18</sup>

- 2 [5.34.1] During the same summer, not long after their return from Thrake, the Lakedaimonians settled in Lepreon the newly liberated Helots who had fought with Brasidas, along with some of the *neodamodeis* ('new citizens').
- 3 [5.49.1] In the summer of 420 BC the Lakedaimonians refused to pay the fine that the Eleians had imposed upon them, according to Olympic law, for attacking the Eleian fortress of Phyrkos and sending 1,000 of their hoplites into Lepreon during the Olympic truce.

There is considerable uncertainty as to whether or not each of these reports refers to a distinct event. Paradiso has argued, in fact, that the deployment to Lepreon reported in the third passage is identical to that reported in the second and that the Spartans thereby reinforced the garrison mentioned in the first passage.<sup>19</sup> The second event, however, is explicitly said to have occurred 'during the same summer' as that in which the Eleians became allies of the Argives as a consequence of their dispute with the Spartans over Lepreon and 'not long after' the return from Thrake of the troops who had fought with Brasidas, which itself followed the swearing of the Peace of Nikias early in 421 BC and so clearly belongs to the summer of 421. The Olympic festival alluded to in the third passage, on the other hand, was celebrated during the following summer, in August 420 BC. It is thus difficult to accept that the second and third passages report the same troop movement, since this would entail that the Olympic truce was in force from a time in the summer which preceded that in which the festival was celebrated, that is, for close to a year, for which there is no convincing evidence.<sup>20</sup> Hornblower justly concludes that 'the safer alternative is to say that the 1,000 hoplites of 49.1 [the third passage] were a separate reinforcement, installed much closer in time to the Olympic festival.'<sup>21</sup> It is thus highly likely that the second and third passages report distinct events.

There is no need to assume with both Paradiso and Hornblower, however, that the same is true of the first and second passages.<sup>22</sup> Because it appears to have led the Eleians to become allies of the Argives in the summer of 421 BC, the event described in the first passage must have occurred before they decided to do so, though not necessarily very long before. Thucydides need not have maintained strict chronological order in this part of his work, and we are not obliged to assume from his text that either of the events reported in the first and second passages preceded the other. His use of the expression ἤδη in a phrase at the end of the second passage has sometimes been taken to indicate that the Lakedaimonians were already in conflict with the Eleians, which would imply that the event reported in the first passage had occurred earlier. This expression, however, can equally indicate a contrast with the situation prevailing in the past, so the relevant phrase could be taken to indicate that as a result of this action the Lakedaimonians had only now come into conflict with the Eleians.<sup>23</sup> It is odd, too, that he provides a geographical note on Lepreon in the second passage, rather than when he first mentions this place at 5.31.2–5.<sup>24</sup> While in the first passage, moreover, he is explaining why the Eleians made an alliance with the Argives, the second passage forms one half of a single sentence in which the diverse fates

of two socially polarised classes of returning Lakedaimonian soldier are set in ironic contrast: the servile Helots who had been victorious under Brasidas in the north are rewarded with their freedom and settled at Lepreon; while the lordly Spartiates who had been captured at Sphakteria are disenfranchised.<sup>25</sup> The entirely different literary contexts of the two reports makes it possible to conclude that the historian referred to the same event twice.

If Thucydides indeed reported the same event in both the first and second passages, we could be sure that the Spartans did not garrison Lepreon until after the Peace of Nikias. Although the Lepreans revolted during the Arkhidamian War, it would then seem, the Spartans were in the process of formulating their decision that they were *autonomoi* while the peace negotiations were under way, but sensibly took no action to support them against the Eleians until the war had ended. While we cannot be certain that these two reports concern the same event, such a conclusion would explain why Thucydides does not present the dispute with Sparta over Lepreon as a cause of the Eleians refusing to agree to the Peace, which he would surely have done if the dispute had already led to open conflict.

Once the Spartans had sent their hoplites into Lepreon, the Eleians, accusing the former of receiving a *polis* of theirs which was in revolt, cited an agreement that the allies would retain at the end of the war whatever they had held at its beginning.<sup>26</sup> It has been suggested that here they were appealing to the general principle underlying the Peace of Nikias that each side should restore to the other what it had gained during the war.<sup>27</sup> While it is true that the Eleians could hardly have appealed to the terms of a peace in which they themselves had refused to take part,<sup>28</sup> we should keep in mind that the actual treaty does not proclaim this general principle and instead stipulates precisely which places are to be surrendered and by whom, so they could have been referring to the principle upon which it had been agreed that peace would be made, rather than to its actual terms.<sup>29</sup> Since the Lakedaimonians and Eleians had been on the same side in the war, however, such an appeal on the part of the Eleians would hardly have been convincing, and they seem more likely to have been invoking an agreement between the allies of the Lakedaimonians at the outset of the war.<sup>30</sup> The failure of the terms themselves to fully reflect the general principle upon which it had been agreed that the Peace would be formulated (by restoring Sollion and Anaktorion to the Corinthians, for example) would nevertheless have contributed to the reticence of the Eleians.<sup>31</sup> It would also have led them to distrust the Spartans as arbitrators in their dispute with the Lepreans. The Eleian withdrawal from the arbitration, the Spartan decision against the Eleians, the refusal of the Eleians to accept it and the Spartan intervention in Lepreon may thus have followed in turn from the moment when the actual terms of the Peace were agreed upon at the end of the winter of 422/421 BC.

Thucydides makes it clear that suspicion of the Spartans concerning their objectives in making peace with the Athenians was widespread in the Peloponnese. The Corinthian delegates returning from the peace conference, as they passed through Argos on their way home from Sparta along the usual route,<sup>32</sup> suggested to the Argives that the Spartans had made the peace and

alliance with the Athenians ‘not for the good but for the subjection of the Peloponnese’, and Thucydides directly states that this fear was widespread among the Peloponnesians.<sup>33</sup> As Hornblower points out, this was ‘not a paranoid suspicion’.<sup>34</sup> If the Eleians had begun to fear at the end of the negotiations which preceded the swearing of the Peace of Nikias that the Spartans intended to subject the Peloponnese to themselves, to which end the permanent detachment of Lepreon from Eleian control might be a significant step, it should not be too difficult for us to understand why they withdrew from the process of arbitration.

The Eleians took the apparently accurate view that the Spartans, by garrisoning Lepreon, had received an ally of theirs which was in revolt. While scholars have sometimes been less than fully convinced of the justice of the Eleian case,<sup>35</sup> Isokrates could describe a similar Spartan act against the Eleians as theft.<sup>36</sup> The Eleians, in the case under discussion, responded to the occupation of Lepreon by dissolving their alliance with the Spartans and allying themselves to the Corinthians. They then joined the Mantineians in an alliance with the Argives, prompting the Corinthians to do the same.<sup>37</sup> This was clearly a defensive alliance,<sup>38</sup> and their adherence to it shows that the Eleians saw the Spartans as a threat to their dominant position within Eleia,<sup>39</sup> but also, perhaps, to their own *autonomia*. Rather than seeing the dispute over Lepreon as the reason why the Eleians were reluctant to swear to the Peace, we ought to conclude that fear of Lakedaimonian domination was the fundamental cause of both this reluctance and their withdrawal from the arbitration. This still does not explain, however, why the Lakedaimonians acted as they did.

### **The politics of the dispute over Lepreon**

Despite the fact that the Eleians had already withdrawn from the arbitration process, the Spartans had gone ahead with making a pronouncement on the fate of the Lepreans, deciding that they were *autonomoi*, and, when the Eleians refused to accept that decision, sending in a force of hoplites. It is unlikely that they were inspired by an altruistic belief in the justice of the Leprean cause, since they themselves held communities in both Lakonia and Messenia in subjection.<sup>40</sup> Two other possible motives should be considered: a concern for their own immediate security; and the pursuit of a broader policy objective.

The Spartans appear to have suspected, even before the peace negotiations had begun, that some of their Peloponnesian allies might go over to the Argives once the thirty years’ peace agreement between Sparta and Argos expired in 421 BC.<sup>41</sup> The Peloponnesians’ suspicion that Sparta was planning to subject them may thus have been complemented by a fear among the Spartans that their allies would join Argos in challenging their hegemony in the Peloponnese. There existed, in addition, another potential source of anxiety. During the Arkhidamian War, the Athenians had captured and fortified Pylos on the Messenian coast, which had then become a refuge for deserters from Spartan-controlled territory.<sup>42</sup> A city such as Lepreon, whose territory bordered on Messenia, if left under the control of a democratic power such as Elis, might provide an additional refuge and base of operations for rebels, and

thus accentuate the danger of losing control of Messenia.<sup>43</sup> The Spartans, perhaps, who had once felt secure in the knowledge that Lepreon was subject to the Eleians, no longer trusted them and so wished to exercise a more direct control at a vulnerable point in their defensive network.<sup>44</sup> Such an explanation, however, would depend upon the assumption that the Eleians had already given the Spartans some cause for suspicion of which no record has been handed down to us. Unless the Spartans had reason to believe that the relationship with their erstwhile allies was beyond redemption, it is difficult to explain their actions in terms of security alone: while support for the Lepreans cannot have failed to aggravate the Eleians, the opposite policy would have reassured them. An atmosphere of mutual suspicion thus appears to have arisen between the two peoples, for which we must find a cause.

While the ancient texts do not always make it plain when internal political factors are at play, we are unlikely to arrive at an accurate understanding of relations between the ancient Greek states without taking them into consideration. The Spartans seem indeed to have been pursuing, as their former allies claimed, a broader policy objective, and 'may even have interfered in Lepreon's internal politics'.<sup>45</sup> Thucydides does not explain why the Lepreans decided to sever their ties with the Eleians, but simply states that they used the war as a pretext. Perhaps they were simply 'attempting to assert their independence while Elis was otherwise engaged' in the Arkhidamian War.<sup>46</sup> In doing so, however, they would have undermined the war effort of the alliance led by the Spartans, whom they could thus not have expected to support them, so additional factors are likely to have been involved. Nor need we assume that the Lepreans were monolithic in their desire to end their friendly relations with Elis. Their refusal to pay the money to Zeus constitutes an abrupt policy reversal of a kind often preceded by a change of regime, such as the overthrow of Kimon and rise of the democrats led by Ephialtes at Athens in the mid-fifth century BC, as a result of which the Athenians left the Lakedaimonian alliance and turned to Argos. There is, moreover, explicit evidence to suggest that internal political factors were influencing events.

As a consequence of the dispute with Elis, Thucydides reports, the Lepreans, alone of the Greeks (apart from the Lakedaimonians), did not attend the Olympic festival of 420 BC.<sup>47</sup> The victory of a certain Theantos of Lepreon in the boys' boxing during the same Olympiad, however, suggests that at least some Lepreans did take part, despite the official stance taken by the *polis* authorities.<sup>48</sup> Theantos and his family may have been resident in Elis at the time. Since the Lakedaimonians had been able to settle the Helots who had fought with Brasidas, along with some *neodamodeis*, at Lepreon,<sup>49</sup> land must have been available for them to occupy. Gomme observes that 'Lepreon had been declared "autonomous" by Sparta in dubious circumstances; it looks as if many Lepreatai had refused the gift of autonomy and migrated to Elis, leaving land to be settled by these enfranchised helots and νεοδαμώδεις'.<sup>50</sup> These Lepreans, however, may well have been expelled from Lepreon during a revolution which occurred before the refusal of the Leprean state to pay the tribute to the Eleians. The Lepreans seem by no means united in their desire to dissolve their ties to the Eleians, and the dispossessed among them may be counted as political refugees.



The Spartan declaration that the Lepreans were *autonomoi*, literally that they were to have their own laws and customs, further suggests that internal political factors were at work.<sup>51</sup> Scholars have had much to say about how the ancient Greeks used the term *autonomia*.<sup>52</sup> As Raaflaub demonstrates, however, this expression is best understood through comparison with *eleutheria*.<sup>53</sup> While *eleutheria* ('freedom'), looks outward to the absence of foreign dominion, *autonomia* looks inward, stressing self-determination. Perikles' reply to a general Spartan demand that the Athenians make their allies *autonomoi* confirms Raaflaub's analysis: the Athenians, Perikles says, will make their *poleis autonomoi* when the Spartans 'also allow their own *poleis* to be *autonomoi*, not in a way that is suitable to the Lakedaimonians, but as each of them wishes'.<sup>54</sup> When the Spartans demanded *autonomia* for a *polis*, this passage implies, they meant that it should be governed in a manner of which they approved. In relation to the dispute over Lepreon, the Spartan decision that the Lepreans were *autonomoi* also suggests that the Eleians had been exerting some kind of influence over their internal affairs. Considering that Elis was a democracy at the time,<sup>55</sup> this influence is likely to have taken the form of support for the Leprean democrats, in which case the Spartans would have been bolstering an opposing oligarchical faction.

Another episode from the period immediately following the Peace of Nikias presents something of a parallel to the dispute over Lepreon.<sup>56</sup> In the summer of 421 BC, at about the same time they first occupied Lepreon, the Spartans intervened in the affairs of the Parrhasians, an Arkadian community near their borders subject to the Mantineians, and made them *autonomoi*.<sup>57</sup> Here, as with their intervention in Lepreon, it seems, the Spartans were motivated in part by immediate security concerns regarding Messenia.<sup>58</sup> This episode, nevertheless, throws significant light upon the implications of the Spartans' understanding of *autonomia*. It is clear from Thucydides' text that only *some* of the Parrhasians had appealed to the Spartans.<sup>59</sup> He directly states, furthermore, that these individuals had called them in because of *stasis* (internal struggle). Considering that the Mantineians, like the Argives and Eleians, enjoyed a democratic constitution at this time, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that an oligarchic faction had called in the Spartans and that making the Parrhasians *autonomoi* amounted to the establishment of a pro-Spartan oligarchy among them. The actions of the Spartans in both Lepreon and Parrhasia, it would seem, exemplify the kind of event that their former allies had feared might occur when they accused them of planning to subject the Peloponnese.

By the early fourth century BC, the Spartans were using *autonomia* as 'an instrument of empire'.<sup>60</sup> In the period now under discussion, however, their demand was probably precipitated by some tangible threat on the part of the Eleians to the *autonomia* of the Lepreans, and the Leprean refusal to pay the money to Zeus may have come about because of a change of regime towards oligarchy and away from a democracy which the Eleians had been helping to sustain by supporting the *demos* against the local magnates. The Eleian reaction, perhaps, was intended not only to ensure that the Lepreans made their regular payment to Zeus Olympios, but also to restore their democracy. The Eleian devastation of the land of the

Lepreans, indeed, may have been selective, aimed specifically at the estates of aristocratic landholders. In such a scenario, the Leprean oligarchs would have been responsible for the appeal to the Spartans, who were already considering how they might tighten their grip on the Peloponnese and were only too pleased, once peace with Athens had freed their hands, to step forward as the champions of Leprean *autonomia* and send in their hoplites. As was to become common in the fourth century BC, when *autonomia* meant 'servile dependency',<sup>61</sup> an oligarchically governed Lepreon might now become a dependent ally of the Spartans.

### **The exclusion of the Spartans from the Olympic festival**

As suggested above, the Eleians appear to have declined to swear to the Peace of Nikias because of the failure of the Spartans to secure the return of Sollion and Anaktorion to the Corinthians and thus to restore the Corinthian position of dominance in the north-west, but also because they subscribed to the widespread fear that the Spartans intended to subject the entire Peloponnese to themselves. They seem to have concluded their defensive alliance with the Argives and others in the summer of 421 BC, on the other hand, because of what seemed to them a particular manifestation of that policy, the Spartan decision to support the revolt of the Lepreans.<sup>62</sup> This change of allegiance on the part of the Eleians led to further conflict between themselves and the Spartans, including some events cited in the ancient texts as causes of the Eleian War of the end of the fifth century BC.<sup>63</sup>

The eventual Eleian response to Spartan support for the revolt of Lepreon was to invoke the full force of Olympic law against the intruders. Alleging that they had attacked their fortress of Phrykos and garrisoned Lepreon during the Olympic truce of 420 BC, the Eleians 'won a verdict of condemnation of Sparta from the court',<sup>64</sup> and the Spartans were fined the huge sum of two thousand *mnai*, two *mnai* for each hoplite, as laid down by Olympic law.<sup>65</sup> The total was the equivalent of 200,000 *drakhmai*, and each *drakhma* appears equal to a good day's wage.<sup>66</sup>

Then followed a dispute about the technicalities of the Olympic truce, which was traditionally declared in each of the Greek cities by certain sacred envoys.<sup>67</sup> The Spartans sent representatives to the Eleians, claiming that the truce had not been declared in their own territory when they sent the hoplites into Lepreon. The Eleians countered by saying that it had been in force among themselves, so the Spartans had acted wrongly. The Spartans replied that the Eleians, nevertheless, had then gone on to proclaim the truce in Sparta, which they would not have done if they thought the Spartans were already wronging them. The Spartans had, moreover, stopped bearing arms against the Eleians once the truce had been declared in their own country.<sup>68</sup> The Eleians did not relent entirely, but instead made a conciliatory offer: if the Spartans restored Lepreon to them, they would give up their own share of the fine and themselves pay the share which was due to the god. When this offer was rejected, the Eleians made a second: the Spartans could keep Lepreon, but must swear at the altar of Zeus in the presence of the Greeks assembled for the Olympic festival that they would pay the fine later. When the Spartans refused this offer as well,

they were excluded from the sanctuary and had to sacrifice at home. The rest of the Greeks, nevertheless, apart from the Lepreans, took part in the festival.<sup>69</sup>

Several questions arise from this report. Did Thucydides mean that both the attack on Phyrkos and the sending of hoplites into Lepreon had occurred during the Olympic truce, or only the latter event? When he says that the Spartans were condemned 'according to Olympic law', which particular body pronounced this verdict? Which side was technically correct in the dispute over the imposition of the fine? Which particular Eleians made each of the apparently conciliatory offers? What motivated them to make those offers?

The location of the Eleian fortress of Phyrkos is uncertain, but it may have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of Lepreon, perhaps on the road which ran between Aulon, in Spartan-controlled Messenia, and Lepreon itself.<sup>70</sup> The Spartans seem to have attacked it in order to preclude any attempt by the Eleians to prevent them reinforcing Lepreon. Although the text of Thucydides at 5.49.1 does not compel us to believe that the Olympic fine was imposed for both the attack on Phyrkos and the sending of the hoplites into Lepreon, the claim of the Spartans at 5.49.2 that they were unaware of the truce when they dispatched the force suggests that both events occurred during the period of truce and that the same 1,000 hoplites undertook both actions.<sup>71</sup> It thus seems likely that, in order to occupy Lepreon, they had first made a surprise assault on an Eleian fortress, wherever it was located.

It is improbable that any of the political organs of the Eleian democracy were empowered either to impose fines upon alien *poleis* for transgressions against Zeus Olympios or exclude their citizens from participation in the competitions if they refused to pay. The Olympic Council, on the other hand, was most likely composed of the representatives of each of the formerly independent *poleis* who had been politically unified in the synoikism of 471 BC and were now the demes of the Eleian *polis*.<sup>72</sup> The court which found in favour of the Eleian state and imposed the fine on the Spartans thus appears to have been composed of the Eleians who sat on the Olympic Council. Roy asks whether the Eleians who made the judgment and determined the fine were acting in accordance with the dictates of Olympic law, as Thucydides says, or in the self-interest of the Eleian state,<sup>73</sup> but both of these alternatives may be correct. While it remains possible that the members of the court felt themselves legally bound to judge the Lakedaimonians guilty and impose the penalty, it is also conceivable that, under less vexed circumstances, considering the enormous size of the fine that the regulations appear to have specified, they might have found a way to avoid a strict adherence to the rules. The particular Eleians who held the majority of seats on the Council at the time, however, seem not to have been inclined to treat the Spartans sensitively, perhaps because of their suspicion of the policy objectives mentioned above.

It is time now to consider the rights and wrongs of the imposition of the fine. If the sacred envoys who regularly proclaimed the truce throughout Greece went about the various regions announcing it in every *polis*, large or small, dependent or not, the Lakedaimonian reinforcements as they entered the territory of Lepreon would surely have been made aware that it was in force there.<sup>74</sup> If, on the other

hand, the sacred envoys simply proclaimed the truce in the city of Elis and then went on to the other large, dominant centres, news of it must still have been disseminated by some means throughout the various regions, so the same conclusion applies. Even if we were prepared to believe that the Spartans had not heard about it as they crossed the Neda, furthermore, it would still be difficult to imagine that the declaration was not made at a time specified by a traditional religious calendar,<sup>75</sup> or that the Spartans, who had been the neighbours of the Eleians and regular worshippers of Olympian Zeus for a great many generations and even included among their number Iamid *manteis* of Eleian origin,<sup>76</sup> could have been unfamiliar with the envoys' itinerary. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the Olympic court found them guilty.

If the Spartans were, in fact, fully aware that the truce had been proclaimed in Eleia, their defence would appear spurious, and even facetious. The sacred envoys from Olympia, furthermore, in proclaiming the truce at Sparta after the alleged infringements, may simply have been following their traditional itinerary, regardless of relatively ephemeral events. It should not surprise us that the Spartans made no move after the truce had been officially proclaimed in Sparta, since by then they had achieved their objective of attacking Phyrkos and reinforcing Lepreon at a time when the Eleians were not expecting to have to defend themselves because they believed they were under the protection of Zeus. Roy believes, nevertheless, that because Lepreon was already in the hands of the Spartans when they sent in their hoplites and was thus no longer part of Eleia, the Eleian charge that they had infringed the Olympic truce was 'contentious'.<sup>77</sup> He finds fault with the Eleians, too, on the grounds that they had given a verdict in their own favour against defendants, the Spartans, who appear to have been unrepresented when the Council deliberated on their case. Roy concludes that in imposing the fine the Eleians were 'shabbily' exploiting the prestige of Olympian Zeus.<sup>78</sup> Neither of his arguments, however, are free from difficulty. Concerning the first, the Olympic truce had to be declared *somewhere* in regard to Lepreatis, either in Elis or in the newly 'autonomous' Lepreon itself. In either case, the district would have been under sacred protection when the Lakedaimonians sent in their hoplites and attacked the Eleian fortress. The Spartans, we must keep in mind, argue only that the truce had not been declared in their own country and never suggest that it was not in force in the territory of Lepreon. As regards Roy's second contention, at the time when the Spartans handed down their arbitration in favour of the Lepreans the Eleians had already chosen to withdraw from the process. In quite recent times, the Spartans had thus themselves passed judgment in what we have seen was their own interest against a similarly unrepresented *polis*, for which they were now repaid in kind.

Whichever side was technically in the wrong, it is clear that the Eleians on the Olympic Council could have been more lenient but had instead followed the specifications of Olympic law to the letter. This makes the first of the subsequent conciliatory offers of 'the Eleians' to give up their own share of the fine and themselves pay the share that was due to the god something of a puzzle, unless the judgment and the offer were made by different Eleians. This offer, in fact, refers

to what might be done with the finances of the democratic *polis* of Elis, so the Eleian assembly must have been responsible for it. Since there could be no room for doubting that Zeus, whom the Olympic Council had determined had been offended by the Spartans, was entitled to the money, the institutions of the Eleian *polis* may have attempted, by paying the fine out of their apparently full treasury, to mitigate the potential consequences of the Council's decision. The second conciliatory offer, however, that the Spartans could keep Lepreon but swear that they would pay the fine later, although not constituting what Roy calls a 'modification of the verdict',<sup>79</sup> seems to have come from the Olympic Council, which is likely to have been the only body competent to negotiate terms for the payment of the fine to the divinity.

This interpretation would certainly help to explain why two such apparently incongruous offers were made: the Eleian state was motivated by a desire to regain Lepreon; but the priority of the Olympic Council was to see that Zeus Olympios was appropriately recompensed for the offence that the Spartans had given him. Both proposals seem to assume that the Spartans did not have the money owed to Zeus and to offer them alternative means of ensuring that the god was not out of pocket: they could give them back Lepreon, and in return the Eleians would take care of the fine; or they could keep Lepreon if they made a solemn and public promise to pay the money when they had it. While both, too, as Roy points out, obliged the Spartans to admit their guilt,<sup>80</sup> once the Olympic Council had made a decision in accord with Olympic law, it is possible that neither the Eleian state nor the Council itself was empowered to reverse it. This may be what the repeated statement of the Eleians 'that they would never be persuaded that [the Spartans] had not acted unjustly' was actually meant to convey: rather than indicating stubborn resolution on their part, these words may have constituted a straightforward statement of the legal fact that the verdict of the Council could not be altered.<sup>81</sup> The participation in the festival of all the other Greeks apart from the Lepreans suggests that contemporary opinion, including that of the Spartans' otherwise loyal allies, favoured the Eleians.<sup>82</sup>

From the beginning of the summer of 420 BC negotiations had gone on between the states of mainland Greece in which various alliances were proposed, but little was achieved.<sup>83</sup> At the invitation of Alkibiades, finally, the Argives, Eleians and Mantineians sent envoys to Athens, and the outcome was a full, potentially offensive alliance (*symmakhia*) between the four powers.<sup>84</sup> This alliance must have been concluded just as the celebration of the Olympic festival commenced in August, since the terms were to be inscribed on a bronze pillar at Olympia 'at the present Olympic festival'.<sup>85</sup> It was not long before the alliance was activated: the Eleians, becoming concerned that the Spartans might try to force their way into the sanctuary, were assisted in guarding it by 1,000 each of the Argives and Mantineians, along with some Athenian cavalry.<sup>86</sup> The general opinion appears to have been that the Spartans took this matter so seriously that they might be prepared to violate the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, since Thucydides records (in language which suggests that he was himself present) that 'a great alarm rose in the assembly that the Lakedaimonians might come with arms.'<sup>87</sup>

The fear of the Greeks assembled at Olympia was intensified as a result of the affair of Likhas, son of Arkesilas. This famous Spartan crowned the victorious charioteer in order to demonstrate that the winning team of horses which had been entered in the name of the Boiotian people actually belonged to him. On this account, he received a beating from the rod-bearers, perhaps on instructions from the *hellanodikai*.<sup>88</sup> Xenophon describes Likhas as an *aner geron*, which indicates that he was of mature age and perhaps a member of the *gerousia*, the influential Spartan council of elders.<sup>89</sup> His father was 'a famously rich equestrian victor',<sup>90</sup> and the aristocratic family of Likhas was internationally renowned.<sup>91</sup> Likhas himself was the Spartan *proxenos* of the Argives and had earlier been an envoy to Argos.<sup>92</sup> Later, after the battle of Mantinea, in collusion with the pro-Spartan party there he arranged the peace between the Spartans and the Argives which led to the alliance of the two states and the overthrow of the democracy at Argos.<sup>93</sup> He cannot have been extremely fragile in 420 BC, since nearly a decade later he acted as one of eleven advisers to the Spartan admiral Astyokhos and appears to have led the negotiations with Tissaphernes, the Persian general, perhaps when he had reached his seventies.<sup>94</sup> As Hornblower explains, Likhas, in crowning the charioteer, 'provocatively exploded a fiction which had been made necessary by the exclusion of the Spartans'.<sup>95</sup> We might see in this demonstrative figure a hard-line oligarch, determined to display his contempt for the Eleian democracy.

Despite this affair, the Spartans kept quiet and the festival was celebrated in peace.<sup>96</sup> Several explanations might be proposed for the inaction of the Spartans at this time: perhaps they were motivated by respect for Zeus Olympios; or disapproved of Likhas' behaviour; or were unwilling to take on the troops of the alliance posted outside the sanctuary; or judged it too dangerous to confront the Athenians so soon after the swearing of the Peace of Nikias.<sup>97</sup> The danger, however, may have been more acute than has been recognised. The presence of the forces of the quadruple alliance at Olympia must have delivered a strong, clear message to the Spartans: they could not defy the decision of the Olympic Council without beginning a war in which the Athenians would pose as the protectors of Olympia and significant Peloponnesian states would fight on the Athenian side.<sup>98</sup> Under circumstances which threatened to deprive them forever of their hegemony over the Peloponnese and hand victory to an alliance composed exclusively of democratic states, even the public disgrace of one of their most influential citizens would have to be patiently endured, at least for the time being.

### **The battle of Mantinea and its consequences**

During the summer of 419 BC, under the leadership of Alkibiades, an allied force which must have included an Eleian contingent and may even have used Elis as a base was operating in western Akhaia.<sup>99</sup> The allies, led by Alkibiades and the Argives, then decided to make war on Epidauros, a neighbour of Argos closely aligned with the Corinthians, and the Argives began preparations. During the same summer and the following winter, there was intermittent warfare between



the Argives and Epidaurians, whom the Spartans made only inconclusive attempts to support.<sup>100</sup> In the summer of 418 BC, however, led by King Agis, they marched against Argos with all their own troops, along with the Tegeans and some other Arkadians, the Boiotians, the Korinthians and the Phleisians. Certain other allies, including the Epidaurians, Pellenians, Megarians and Sikyonians, mustered in support at Phleious. In accord with the terms of the quadruple alliance, along with the Mantineians and their Arkadian allies, 3,000 Eleian hoplites came to the aid of the Argives. The preparations for battle, nevertheless, came to nothing when Agis, after negotiating with certain of the Argives, chose to withdraw.<sup>101</sup> Following these events, once Alkibiades and the Athenians had returned to Argos, the Eleians supported them in their determination to continue the war against the Spartans and took part in the successful siege of Arkadian Orkhomenos.<sup>102</sup>

When the members of the quadruple alliance deliberated upon their next move the Eleians proposed that they should go against Lepreon, but the others agreed instead to proceed to Tegea, where a faction was ready to hand the city over to them. At this, the Eleians returned home and so were absent from the battle of Mantinea.<sup>103</sup> Scholars have long insisted that the Eleians deserted the allied cause through narrow self-interest, and Grote goes so far as to suggest that the allied defeat at Mantinea was 'greatly occasioned by the selfish caprice of the Eleians in withdrawing their 3,000 men immediately before the battle'.<sup>104</sup> The strategy of the Eleians, however, may have been the wiser of the two discussed at the time, since the Athenians had by now returned to Pylos the Helots they had previously withdrawn to Kephallenia.<sup>105</sup> The presence of an allied army at Lepreon in conjunction with the Athenian possession of Pylos might have made possible a general Messenian uprising and could even have brought about the creation of a free and democratic Messenian *polis*, not achieved until more than half a century later.<sup>106</sup> The choice of Tegea and thus of direct confrontation with the Lakedaimonian and allied army, as it turned out, led to the defeat of the anti-Spartan coalition at Mantinea and the subsequent restoration of Spartan prestige,<sup>107</sup> while a less risky campaign in southern Eleia and Messenia had the potential to threaten Spartan power at its source. It may not be possible, of course, to answer the question posed by Hornblower: 'Could the 3,000 Eleians . . . have made a difference to the outcome of the battle of Mantinea?'<sup>108</sup>

When the Spartans led by King Agis invaded Eleia from Messenia two decades after these events, the Lepreans would again revolt from the Eleians, so they must have returned to their Eleian allegiance at some time between 418 and 401 BC.<sup>109</sup> Aristophanes was calling Lepreon 'Eleian' by 414 BC, and Roy believes its recovery is likely to have resulted from negotiations 'not too long before' Aristophanes' play.<sup>110</sup> The 'Helots who had fought with Brasidas' and the *neodamodeis* who comprised the Lakedaimonian garrison in Lepreon, however, seem identical to 'the *Brasideoi* from Thrake' and the *neodamodeis* who fought at Mantinea in 418 BC, just after the Eleians had returned home. If so, Lepreon is likely to have been poorly defended at the time when the Eleians parted company with their allies at Orkhomenos,<sup>111</sup> and in the absence of the new settlers the Eleian hoplites may have captured it.



Soon after the allied defeat at Mantinea the Eleians returned to Arkadia, ready to help defend the Mantineians. They also joined in the allied assault upon Epidauros which took place while the Spartans were celebrating the festival of the Karneia.<sup>112</sup> During the winter of 418/417 BC, however, the Argives made peace with the Spartans, withdrew from the quadruple alliance and, for a while, became their allies instead.<sup>113</sup> The Mantineians, unable to hold out, also came to terms with the Spartans.<sup>114</sup> There is good reason to assume that the Eleians gave up the war with the Spartans at the same time. Although condemned by the Athenians, Alkibiades was able to land at Kyllene in 415 BC and proceed safely to Sparta, presumably through Eleian territory.<sup>115</sup> Relations with the Corinthians, too, appear to have remained cordial, since in 413 BC at the Eleian port of Pheia the Athenians destroyed a freighter ready to carry Korinthian hoplites across to Sicily, but both the crew and the troops escaped and were able to procure another ship,<sup>116</sup> presumably in Eleia. Early in 417 BC, perhaps, with Lepreon safely in hand but concerned for their own security, the Eleians had made it legally possible for the *proxenoi* who sat on the Olympic Council to readmit the Spartans to the altar of Zeus in time for the festival of 416 BC by surrendering their own share of the fine and paying the money due to the god, as they had endeavoured to do in return for Lepreon during their negotiations with the Spartans in 420 BC.<sup>117</sup>

At some time after the summer of 420 BC, nevertheless, the Eleians prevented the Spartan king Agis from sacrificing to Zeus at Olympia, explaining the supposedly ancient principle that Greeks should not consult the oracle at Olympia about war with other Greeks.<sup>118</sup> As Roy points out, 'Xenophon makes no attempt (nor does Diodorus) to explain the incident by reference to the ban on sacrificing at Olympia by the Eleians in 420',<sup>119</sup> so it must have been revoked by then. Perhaps this event occurred in 414 or 413 BC, 'when the Spartans judged that they might legitimately renew aggression upon Athens directly'.<sup>120</sup> The refusal of the Eleians to allow Agis to sacrifice at this time suggests that they had not become entirely reconciled with the Spartans after the collapse of the quadruple alliance and may even have remained sympathetic towards the Athenians.

Although Xenophon states that the invasion of Attika at the end of the Dekeleian War was undertaken by the Lakedaimonians and 'the other Peloponnesians except the Argives', it is unlikely that the Eleians had followed the Mantineians in resuming their alliance with the Spartans.<sup>121</sup> Considering the relative ease of communications between the Eleian ports and those of eastern Sicily and the long-standing and close relations which the Eleians enjoyed with the Corinthians,<sup>122</sup> if they had indeed resumed their Spartan allegiance we would expect to find Eleians among those who fought to defend Syrakousai from the Athenians and their allies, but they do not appear in Thucydides' comprehensive list.<sup>123</sup> Nor were they among the allies whom the Spartans asked for ships in the winter of 413/412 BC,<sup>124</sup> and although 28 allied admirals were honoured with statues at Delphi for their part in the battle of Aigospotamoi in 405 BC, no Eleian was included.<sup>125</sup> In the prelude to the Eleian War, the Spartans would demand that the Eleians pay their share of the cost of the war against the Athenians,<sup>126</sup> which implies that they had not been contributing. The language of Xenophon in describing the outbreak of the Eleian

War further suggests that the two states were not allies at the time.<sup>127</sup> We can assume that the Eleians took no part in the Dekeleian War. Perhaps they hoped to return to the peaceful life which they had enjoyed before taking up arms against the Kerkyraians at Sybota in 433 BC.<sup>128</sup> This, however, was not to be.

## Notes

- 1 Thuc. 5.17.2; cf. 3.52.1–3; 4.69.1–4.
- 2 Thuc. 5.17.2–20.1, 23.1, 24.2.
- 3 Thuc. 5.17.2.
- 4 Thuc. 5.18.7; cf. 5.3.5; Hornblower 1996, 469.
- 5 Thuc. 5.17.2; Hornblower 1996, 469.
- 6 Thuc. 5.30.4; cf. 18.5; 2.30.1; 4.49.1.
- 7 Thuc. 3.112.1–113.6, 114.4.
- 8 This volume, p. 121.
- 9 Gomme 1956, 665; Inglis 1998, 99; Falkner 1999, 385; Capreeedy 2008, 494; Paradiso 2008, 28; cf. Hornblower 2008, 73.
- 10 Thuc. 5.31.1–5; Andrewes 1981, 376; Hornblower 1996, 469.
- 11 This volume, pp. 44, 122–3.
- 12 Thuc. 5.31.2; this volume, p. 110.
- 13 Thuc. 5.31.2–3.
- 14 Andrewes 1970, 28.
- 15 Thuc. 5.31.3–5.
- 16 This volume, p. 125.
- 17 E.g. Falkner 1999, 385; Capreeedy 2008, 494; Paradiso 2008, 28; cf. Hornblower 2008, 73.
- 18 Cf. Thuc. 5.31.1, 5.
- 19 Paradiso 2008, 27–9.
- 20 Hornblower 2008, 126–8.
- 21 Hornblower 2008, 80–1; cf. 129.
- 22 Paradiso 2008, 28; Hornblower 2008, 73, 80, 126, 129.
- 23 Thuc. 1.78.3; LSJ s.v. ῥῶν I.1–5.
- 24 Gomme 1970, 36.
- 25 Thuc. 5.34.1–2.
- 26 Thuc. 5.31.5.
- 27 Thuc. 5.17.2, cf. 3.52.2; Andrewes 1970, 28–9; Falkner 1999, 393 n.28.
- 28 Lendon 1994, 162.
- 29 Thuc. 5.23.1–24.1; Andrewes 1970, 29.
- 30 Hornblower 2008, 73.
- 31 Cf. Gomme 1956, 666; Andrewes 1970, 26.
- 32 Tomlinson 1972, 118; Adshead 1986, 2.
- 33 Thuc. 5.27.2, 29.3; Andrewes 1970, 25; Price 2001, 270.
- 34 Hornblower 2008, 61.
- 35 See, for example, Nielsen 2005, 56–7: ‘not completely unfounded’.
- 36 Isok. 8.100; Nielsen 2005, 65; this volume, p. 160.
- 37 Thuc. 5.31.1, 5–6.
- 38 Thuc. 5.48.2: *epimakhia*; cf. Gomme 1970, 23, 64; Hornblower 2008, 74, 121.
- 39 Capreeedy 2008, 487–91.
- 40 Paus. 3.8.3; Bosworth 1992, 131 n.35, 134; Shipley 1997, 189–281.
- 41 Thuc. 5.14.4, cf. 27.2; Lewis 1992, 120.
- 42 Thuc. 4.41.3; 5.35.6–7, 56.2–3.
- 43 Thuc. 4.16.1, 23.1; Falkner 1999, 390–1; cf. Ruggeri 2004, 121; Paradiso 2008, 30.

- 44 Capree 2008, 495.
- 45 Falkner 1999, 391.
- 46 Falkner 1999, 389; cf. Nielsen 2005, 67.
- 47 Thuc. 5.50.2. Nielsen 2005, 68 with n.59, cf. 69–73 understands the expression (ἐθεώρουν) in Thucydides to refer only to the sending of *theoroi* ('official representatives') to the games and thus concludes that individual Lepeans may yet have attended. At 3.104.3, however, Thucydides uses precisely the same expression in relation to the attendance of the Ionians in general at a festival on Delos, so it need not refer to *theoroi* alone.
- 48 Paus. 6.7.8; Moretti no. 38; Nielsen 2005, 69–74, 81; Hornblower 2008, 131.
- 49 Thuc. 5.34.1.
- 50 Gomme 1970, 36; cf. Ruggeri 2004, 121; Hornblower 2008, 81; *contra* Cartledge 1979, 251.
- 51 Thuc. 5.31.4.
- 52 Ostwald 1982; Cartledge 1987, 249–50; Bosworth 1992, 122–52; Raaflaub 2004, 147–64.
- 53 Raaflaub 2004, 147–57.
- 54 Thuc. 1.144.2.
- 55 This volume, pp. 98–101.
- 56 Cf. Roy 2008, 32–3.
- 57 Thuc. 5.33.1, cf. 29.1; Andrewes 1970, 31–4; Tomlinson 1972, 119.
- 58 Andrewes 1970, 34.
- 59 Gomme 1970, 32.
- 60 Raaflaub 2004, 127, 131; cf. Kelly 1975, 24; Nielsen 1996, 93.
- 61 Bosworth 1992, 136.
- 62 Thuc. 5.31.1–5.
- 63 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21–22; Diod. 14.17.4; Paus. 3.8.3; this volume, pp. 151, 154–5.
- 64 Gomme 1970, 64.
- 65 Thuc. 5.49.1.
- 66 Burn 1972, 36–7.
- 67 Perhaps these were already known as *spondophoroi*: Dimitrova 2008, 13.
- 68 Thuc. 5.49.1–5.
- 69 Thuc. 5.49.5–50.2.
- 70 Paradiso 2008, 29–30; cf. Gomme 1970, 65; Hornblower 2008, 126.
- 71 Andrewes 1970, 65; Paradiso 2008, 29.
- 72 This volume, pp. 88–92.
- 73 Thuc. 5.49.1; Roy 1998, 362–5.
- 74 Gomme 1970, 65.
- 75 Cf. Hornblower 2008, 130.
- 76 This volume, p. 113.
- 77 Roy 1998, 362.
- 78 Roy 1998, 364–6; cf. Hornblower 2008, 129.
- 79 Roy 1998, 364 n.21.
- 80 Roy 1998, 364 n.21.
- 81 Thuc. 5.49.5.
- 82 Thuc. 5.50.2; cf. Hornblower 2000, 222 n.25.
- 83 Thuc. 5.40.1–46.5.
- 84 Thuc. 47.1–12; Paus. 8.8.6; Plut. *Alk.* 15.1; *Nik.* 10.8.
- 85 Andrewes 1970, 62; Hornblower 2008, 119.
- 86 Thuc. 5.50.3; Hornblower 2008, 131.
- 87 Thuc. 5.50.4; Hornblower 2000, 212 and n.1; cf. 2004, 53 and n.7, 273–4, 277–8; 2008, 122; Rood 1998, 106.
- 88 Thuc. 5.50.4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21; Paus. 6.2.1–3.
- 89 Andrewes 1970, 67.
- 90 Hornblower 2008, 131; Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.61; Plut. *Kim.* 10.6; cf. Roy 2009, 70.
- 91 Hornblower 2004, 278–81; 2008, 131–2; cf. Cartledge 1987, 249; Krentz 1994, 172.

- 92 Thuc. 5.22.2.
- 93 Thuc. 5.76.3.
- 94 Thuc. 8.39.2, 43.3, 52, 84.5, 87.1; Andrewes 1970, 67.
- 95 Hornblower 2000, 212; cf. 2004, 273; Roy 2009, 71.
- 96 Thuc. 5.50.4.
- 97 Roy 1998, 366–6; Hornblower 2000, 222; 2004, 284; 2008, 134.
- 98 Sordi 1984, 23.
- 99 Cf. Gomme 1970, 69.
- 100 Thuc. 5.52.2–56.5.
- 101 Thuc. 5.57.1–60.4.
- 102 Thuc. 5.61.1–2; Diod. 12.78.4.
- 103 Thuc. 5.62.1–2.
- 104 Grote 1907 VII, 139, cf. 126; Andrewes 1970, 88; Gomme 1970, 128. Roy 2013b, 226 correctly points out that the preference of the Eleians for fighting at Lepreon rather than Mantinea cannot justly be ascribed to their *asylia*, as I had earlier suggested: Bourke 2011, 417.
- 105 Thuc. 5.56.3, cf. 35.7; Plut. *Nik.* 10.8.
- 106 Diod. 15.66.1, 6; Paus. 4.26.3–8, 27.5–9; cf. Falkner 1999, 385–6; *contra* Andrewes 1970, 88.
- 107 Thuc. 5.75.3.
- 108 Hornblower 2008, 163.
- 109 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25; this volume, pp. 156, 159.
- 110 Aristoph. *Birds* 149; Andrewes 1970, 27; Roy in Hornblower 2000, 223, n.26; cf. Hornblower 2000, 222–3; 2004, 275–6.
- 111 Thuc. 5.34.1, 67.1; cf. Grote 1907 VII, 131.
- 112 Thuc. 5.75.5–6.
- 113 Thuc. 5.76.1–79.5.
- 114 Thuc. 5.81.1; Diod. 12.80.2.
- 115 Thuc. 6.88.9. He probably did not go via Argos: Isok. 16.9; Plut. *Alk.* 23.1.
- 116 Thuc. 7.31.1.
- 117 Cf. Hornblower 2000, 217–18, 222–3: ‘at some point between 418 and 416’.
- 118 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.22; Diod. 14.17.4. For doubts about the authenticity of the Eleian claim, see Roy 2013a, 467. The Spartans sent Agis to sacrifice to Zeus ‘in accord with some oracle’ (κατὰ μαντείαν τινα). Strangely, one source of oracles appears to have directed the Spartans to consult another. Cf. Thuc. 3.104.1 (κατὰ χρησμὸν δὴ τινα); Hornblower 1992, 193.
- 119 Roy 2009, 72; cf. Krentz 1994, 172; Hornblower 2000, 215 n.10.
- 120 Cartledge 1987, 249.
- 121 Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.7; Kelly 1975, 22.
- 122 This volume, pp. 16, 120–3.
- 123 Thuc. 7.57.1–58.4.
- 124 Thuc. 8.3.2; Dover 1970, 361; Kelly 1975, 23.
- 125 ML 95; Paus. 10.9.10; Plut. *Lys.* 18.
- 126 Diod. 14.17.5.
- 127 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21; Dover 1970, 361.
- 128 Thuc. 1.46.1.

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## 8 The Eleian War

### The causes of the Eleian War

Soon after defeating the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War, the Lakedaimonians and their allies invaded Eleia in what has become known as the Eleian War. Three ancient authors offer explanations for the outbreak of this conflict. The earliest is Xenophon, who reports the causes of Lakedaimonian anger with the Eleians, the objectives of the Lakedaimonians in initiating the war and the demands which they made upon the Eleians. Diodoros records certain charges brought by the Lakedaimonians, along with their demands. Pausanias, too, records both grievances and demands.<sup>1</sup>

Xenophon says first of all that the Lakedaimonians had long been angry with the Eleians, and lists three reasons for their anger: the Eleians had joined the quadruple alliance; on account of the judgment made against the Lakedaimonians they had prevented them from competing in both the equestrian and athletic competitions; and they had flogged Likhas and driven him out of Olympia.<sup>2</sup> In addition, when Agis was sent to sacrifice at the altar of Zeus Olympios, they had prevented him from doing so.<sup>3</sup> Xenophon then explains that because of this anger towards the Eleians the ephors and the assembly had decided 'to bring them to their senses'. Finally, Xenophon reports, the Lakedaimonians demanded that the Eleians allow their perioikic *poleis* to be *autonomoi*.<sup>4</sup>

Despite recording that the Lepreans revolted during the Eleian War, Xenophon says nothing about either the dispute over their city or the details of the judgment against the Lakedaimonians at the time of the Peace of Nikias. He is thus able to shift the sympathy of the reader towards Likhas, the 'old man' who was flogged by the Eleians for attempting to place a garland on his victorious charioteer. The report of Thucydides about this event reveals that the action of Likhas, considering the circumstances, was highly provocative,<sup>5</sup> but in Xenophon's narrative the Lakedaimonians appear as the righteous champions of a cruelly mishandled and disgracefully humiliated senior citizen.<sup>6</sup> Without the context of the warfare which followed the swearing of the Peace of Nikias, the limitations which the Eleians placed upon Agis at Olympia, too, appear wanton, and the Eleian explanation that it was an ancient custom that Greeks should not consult the oracle of Zeus about war against other Greeks seems a mere pretext for their own unreasonable behaviour.<sup>7</sup>



Sordi concludes that all our sources agree in affirming that the episode involving Likhas was the underlying motive for the anger of the Spartans, and Unz, claiming that 'there is little dispute about the origins of the war', cites the flogging of Likhas and the refusal to allow Agis to sacrifice.<sup>8</sup> The decision of the Lakedaimonians to bring the Eleians to their senses, however, suggests a deeper motive. As Cartledge points out, by Xenophon's day the *sophrosyne* ('soundness of mind') which the Spartans aimed to instil in the Eleians had 'acquired a particularly oligarchic connotation'.<sup>9</sup> Because of their anger at the Eleians for joining the alliance which had opposed them during the Peace of Nikias, for excluding them from the Olympiad of 420 BC, for beating Likhas and for preventing Agis from sacrificing at the altar of Zeus, Xenophon's report implies, the Lakedaimonians decided to attempt to alter their constitution. Yet this is not what was contained in the Lakedaimonian ultimatum, since they sent ambassadors to the Eleians to demand simply that they allow their perioikic communities to be *autonomoi poleis*.<sup>10</sup>

As in the earlier dispute concerning the Lepreans,<sup>11</sup> when the Spartans demanded that certain communities should be *autonomoi* they seem to have meant that they should abandon their current constitutions and adopt aristocratic ones. This can also be seen in the actions of the Lakedaimonians after their victory over the quadruple alliance at Mantinea in 418 BC, when peace was brought about by men who wanted to put an end to the democracy in Argos.<sup>12</sup> One of the articles of the treaty which established the peace was that 'the *poleis* in the Peloponnese, both large and small, are to be *autonomoi*, all according to their ancestral customs'.<sup>13</sup> The expression translated here as 'according to their ancestral customs', *katta patria*, implies that the various *poleis* should be governed according to their real or supposed ancient constitutions. Because it was open to various interpretations, this provision could be used by the Lakedaimonians and the new rulers of Argos to justify intervening in the Peloponnesian states to ensure that they became aristocracies.<sup>14</sup>

The provisions of the treaty of alliance sworn to soon afterwards shed further light on the aims of Spartan foreign policy during this period, and are thus worth considering in some detail. According to the first provision, the Spartans and Argives would give fair and impartial legal settlements *katta patria*, and the rest of the cities in the Peloponnese would be both autonomous and independent.<sup>15</sup> Ostwald claims that the expression *katta patria* is used in this treaty to remind the states 'that certain traditions, which should not be broken, represented a norm in interstate relations'.<sup>16</sup> This expression does not appear, however, in the fourth provision, the only one which specifically deals with relations between the states, but only in the first, which seems to concern the internal political affairs of the Peloponnesian *poleis*, and the fifth, which deals with private law.<sup>17</sup>

The text of a further statement in the first provision is in dispute. The placement of a comma in the *Oxford Classical Text* seems to suggest that the various communities were intended to be autonomous and independent 'holding that which belongs to them, giving fair and consistent legal settlements *katta patria*', which would imply that the law in each of the cities would be dispensed in a traditional manner. In this case, it could easily have been interpreted to require that

public affairs be regulated by traditional courts composed of aristocratic judges. Hornblower, however, following Ostwald in associating *katta patria* with the earlier clause, translates this passage 'controlling their own territory as they traditionally have done, submitting to fair and impartial legal proceedings'.<sup>18</sup> The fourth provision, nevertheless, is the one which deals with inter-state relations, and the decisions referred to in the first appear to concern public affairs within the *polis* rather than relations between states. Even Ostwald's text might thus be translated as 'holding that which belongs to them according to ancestral custom, giving fair and consistent legal decisions', in which case the words *katta patria* could be understood to qualify the manner in which each of the states was to administer itself.

The subsequent actions of a body of picked men from the two *poleis* whose representatives had sworn to this treaty reveal that the internal political affairs of the Peloponnesian cities were indeed one of its major concerns. Once the alliance had been concluded, the Lakedaimonians and Argives together established a kind of political police force, each contributing 1,000 men.<sup>19</sup> The contingent of the Argives, Diodoros informs us, consisted of '1,000 of the younger men, especially those who were powerful in both body and wealth', whom they had picked out for intensive military training in 421 BC.<sup>20</sup> Scholars have been divided over the question of whether or not the identification found in Diodoros of the thousand picked troops who fought at Mantinea with the thousand who constituted the force that now worked with the Lakedaimonians is correct.<sup>21</sup> According to Aristotle, however, the thousand, whom he describes as *oi gnotimoi*, 'the notables', were able to overthrow the democracy at Argos because of the reputation which they had gained at the battle of Mantinea.<sup>22</sup> Diodoros includes the story of their excellent performance in the battle, but also informs us that King Agis had deliberately allowed these men to escape. He reports that Agis' adviser Pharax was wary of the risks of fighting against such troops when they had been cornered, but also implies that the Lakedaimonians might have killed all of them had they wished. This suggests the possibility, not contradicted by the account of Thucydides, that in the last phase of the battle of Mantinea the Lakedaimonians, and King Agis in particular, had deliberately preserved the thousand 'notable' Argives.<sup>23</sup>

At first the thousand Lakedaimonians acted on their own to establish a more oligarchic form of government in Sikyon.<sup>24</sup> Up to 418 BC, the Sikyonians appear to have been ruled by a broad oligarchy,<sup>25</sup> but from this time until the revolution of the early 360s BC, in Xenophon's view, they were governed 'according to their ancient laws' (κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους νόμους).<sup>26</sup> The joint force of a thousand Lakedaimonians and a thousand Argives then combined to put an end to the Argive democracy and set up 'an oligarchy congenial to the Spartans'.<sup>27</sup> Diodoros' report of the overthrow of democracy in Argos provides a more detailed insight into what the Lakedaimonians and their supporters in Argos intended would follow from the provision that legal settlements in the various *poleis* would be made *katta patria*. Once the thousand Argives had replaced the democracy with an aristocracy composed of themselves, they put to death the popular leaders, terrified the rest of the people and abolished the existing laws.<sup>28</sup> This violent overthrow of

the long-established Argive democracy and its replacement by the aristocracy of 'the notables' appears to have been what the Lakedaimonians meant when they spoke of abiding by 'ancestral customs' and, it seems, the kind of thing they had in mind when they declared that a people were to be *autonomoi*.

In 417 BC the Lakedaimonians made arrangements suitable to themselves in Akhaia, too.<sup>29</sup> The process of replacing popular government and moderate oligarchy with aristocracy, however, did not continue unimpeded, and democratic revolution soon broke out in both Argos and Tegea. When the Lakedaimonians prepared to go to the aid of the aristocrats in Argos, the Argive democrats turned once more to the Athenians.<sup>30</sup> Despite its brevity, the interlude of Lakedaimonian–Argive cooperation helps to illuminate the general aims of the dominant faction at Sparta which gathered around Agis II and its aristocratic counterparts in other parts of the Peloponnese.<sup>31</sup>

The demand of the Lakedaimonians in 402 BC that the Eleians allow their *perioikoi* to be *autonomoi* appears more to reflect the policy aims revealed by the terms and consequences of their brief alliance with the Argives fifteen years earlier than to manifest any desire to free the communities in question from any supposed Eleian oppression. There can have been no mistaking the objectives of the Lakedaimonians on the part of the Eleians: to accept the Spartan ultimatum would have been to desert the popular cause in their perioikic *poleis* and allow the establishment within what had long been their own domain of a group of states governed by aristocracies dependent upon the Lakedaimonians and hostile to their own constitution. In this way the Eleians' own genuine *autonomia*, in this case their right to rule themselves by means of their democratic institutions, would also have been placed at risk. This fear seems reflected in both the report of Diodoros that the Eleians, in refusing the demand to grant *autonomia* to their *perioikoi*, accused the Spartans of placing the Greeks in subjection and that of Pausanias that the Eleians replied that they would comply with the Spartan demand 'when they saw that the perioikic *poleis* of Sparta were free, but not until then did they intend to let go of their own'.<sup>32</sup>

Diodoros states that the Lakedaimonians brought many charges against the Eleians, but records only what he sees as the most important two: the prevention of one of their kings from sacrificing to Zeus; and their exclusion from competing in the Olympic competitions.<sup>33</sup> The Lakedaimonians, he also informs us, sent ten ambassadors to call upon the Eleians to allow their perioikic *poleis* to be *autonomoi*. Diodoros records the additional demand that they pay their share of the cost of the war against the Athenians. 'But,' he explains, 'they did these things because they were looking for reasonable and plausible pretexts for beginning a war.'<sup>34</sup> Diodoros' account has much in common with that of Xenophon, since he, too, fails to mention the dispute over Lepreon and, although he omits the quadruple alliance and the treatment of Likhas, which he appears to have considered less important, includes the other causes of Lakedaimonian anger which Xenophon lists.

Diodoros' account differs significantly from that of Xenophon, however, in that he claims that in saying 'these things' (ταῦτα) the Lakedaimonians were simply looking for a pretext for war. In making this claim, Diodoros could be referring

to either all of the charges and demands which he lists, or only the demands to make the *perioikoi autonomoi* and pay their share of the cost of the Attik War.<sup>35</sup> As Roy assumes, the latter is likely to be the case.<sup>36</sup> The demand concerning the *perioikoi* could be considered a pretext because, since compliance would have weakened the Eleian *polis* and rendered its democratic institutions vulnerable to external interference by surrounding it with pro-Spartan aristocratic states, the Eleians could be counted upon to reject it. The demand for money is not raised in connection with the dispute over Lepreon, in which financial matters were clearly significant, so the Spartans appear to have been referring to contributions for the period after the Peace of Nikias, when the Eleians had ceased to be their allies. This claim is clearly specious and must also be considered a pretext. As a consequence, when Diodoros claims that 'these things' were only a pretext, he could mean either: that the charges brought by the Lakedaimonians concerning events in the past constituted the true cause of the war; or that there were other, more fundamental reasons for the Lakedaimonian invasion which he has not mentioned, such as the attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the Eleians implied by Xenophon's use of the expression *sophrosyne*.

Pausanias also repeats some of the information contained in Xenophon's account. The Lakedaimonians make complaints against the Eleians, especially that they had been excluded from both the Olympic games and the sacrifices.<sup>37</sup> Elsewhere, using the terminology of Xenophon rather than that of Thucydides, Pausanias directly states that the Lakedaimonians went to war against the Eleians because they had flogged Likhas.<sup>38</sup> In his version, however, the Lakedaimonians send a herald rather than ambassadors, and they demand that the Eleians allow the Lepreans and the *perioikoi* who were subject to themselves to be *autonomoi*. The clearly misguided reference to the herald rather than ambassadors at a time before war had broken out might imply that Pausanias used a source other than either Xenophon or Diodoros, but together with his mention of the Lepreans it might also suggest that he either included a considerable amount of conjecture or conflated this episode with other events which had occurred either earlier, during the dispute over Lepreon, or soon afterwards, when Lepreon again revolted.<sup>39</sup>

The ancient sources thus provide us with three categories of information concerning the causes of the Eleian War: the reasons for the anger of the Lakedaimonians; their objectives; and the demands which they made upon the Eleians. None of these sources mentions the involvement of the Lakedaimonians in the revolt of the Lepreans towards the end of the Arkhidamian War, even though this action seems to have given rise to all of their causes of complaint. Both the demand made upon the Eleians to make their *perioikoi autonomoi* and the claim for payment of their portion of the cost of the Attik War are dismissed by Diodoros as mere pretexts. The objective of bringing the Eleians to their senses, however, clearly expressed by Xenophon and perhaps alluded to by Diodoros, implies that the Lakedaimonians wished to alter the Eleian constitution and, considering the record of Lakedaimonian foreign policy under the guidance of King Agis during the period of the Peace of Nikias discussed above (not to mention events elsewhere in Greece at the conclusion of the Dekelean War), this is likely to have been

their true objective. Two significant, interrelated causes of the war thus remain plausible: earlier Lakedaimonian support for the revolt of the Lepreans, apparently intended to ensure that they were governed by an oligarchy dependent upon themselves, which began a chain of events that caused the Spartans to become angry with the Eleians; and the attempt of the Lakedaimonians after the defeat of the Athenians to impose similar conditions upon all the peoples of Eleia. As Cartledge concludes, 'Elis should be counted among those states in which Sparta intervened militarily to replace a democracy with an oligarchy.'<sup>40</sup> Ultimately, the Eleian War was one consequence of the sustained determination of the dominant faction in Sparta centred around King Agis to impose aristocratic governments upon the various peoples of Greece.

### **The course of the Eleian War**

The chronology of the Eleian War, Underhill could already say in 1893, 'has occupied the attention of commentators and historians for more than a century'.<sup>41</sup> We need not spend so long on it here, however, since the scholars who maintain that it lasted from 402 to 400 BC seem correct.<sup>42</sup> The likely sequence of events is as follows:

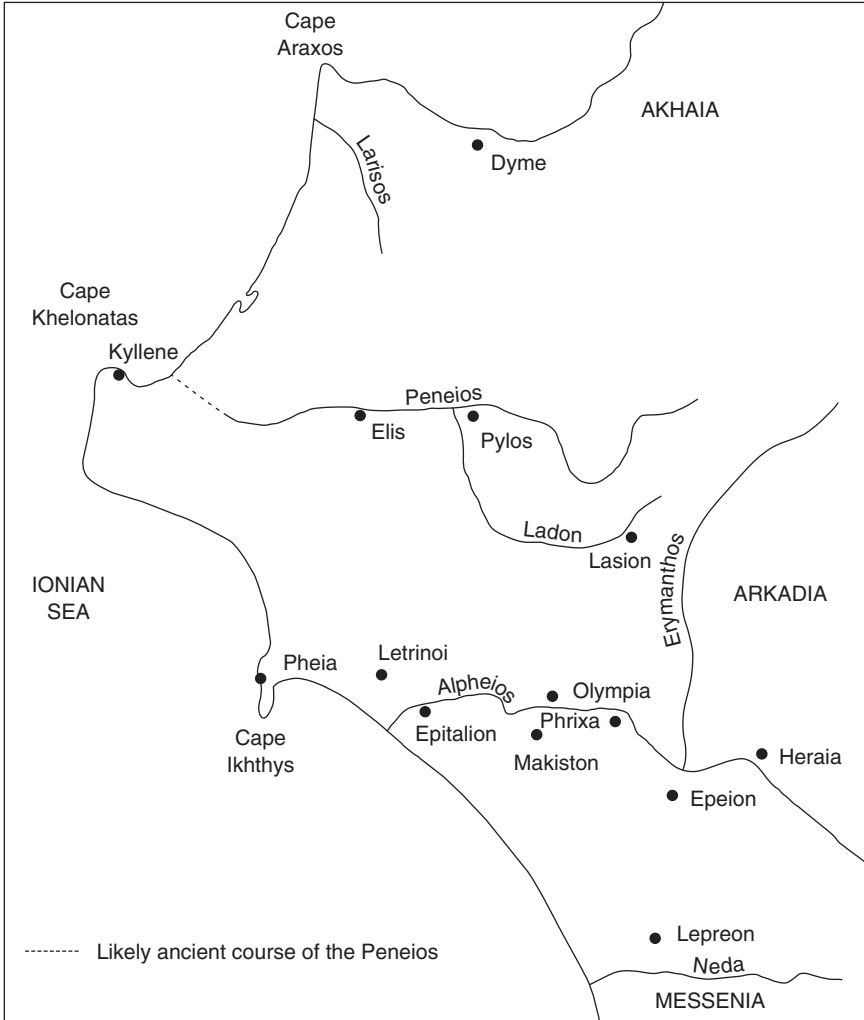
Summer 402 BC: Lakedaimonian ultimatum and Eleian refusal; Agis' first invasion.

Summer 401 BC: Agis' second invasion; Pausanias' invasion.

Spring 400 BC: Eleian peace offer; conclusion of peace and alliance.

Diodoros' account of the course of the war is most likely derived from the fourth-century historian Ephoros, who in turn appears to have relied in the parts of his text relevant to this inquiry upon the work of the Oxyrhynchos historian. Like Xenophon's *Hellenika*, this 'nowadays highly esteemed history' seems to have begun where Thucydides left off.<sup>43</sup> Diodoros' narrative might appear at first impression to greatly contradict that of Xenophon (largely followed by Pausanias), since while Xenophon narrates two Lakedaimonian expeditions led by King Agis, Diodoros records an entirely different series of events in which the other king, Pausanias, is in command. The accounts are so different, in fact, that one modern scholar has written a narrative of the war in which the report of Diodoros is briefly dismissed in a footnote as 'seriously confused'.<sup>44</sup>

According to Xenophon, the Lakedaimonians under the command of Agis first invaded Eleia through Akhaia, but soon after they arrived an earthquake occurred, and Agis, interpreting this as a divine omen, left Eleia and disbanded his army (Map 8.1). Later Agis led an army which included contingents of all the allies of the Lakedaimonians except the Boiotians and Korinthians in an invasion by way of Aulon, on the Messenian coast not far south of the mouth of the Neda. At this, the Lepreans and Makistians revolted from the Eleians and



Map 8.1 The Eleian War. Created by the author.

joined Agis. The Makistians also brought over the Epitalians. Once the army had crossed the Alpheios, the Letrinians, Amphidolians and Marganeians, too, joined the invaders. Agis then sacrificed at Olympia and, ravaging and plundering the land as he went, marched towards the city of Elis, where he did some damage to the suburbs and the *gymnasia*. Although the city was not walled, he was unwilling to attempt to capture it, so the army moved away from Elis and began to plunder the country around Kyllene.

At the same time, the supporters of the extremely wealthy Xenias, people who wanted to be responsible for the Eleians joining the Lakedaimonians, attempted

a coup, beginning a slaughter and killing a man who resembled Thrasydaios, the leader of the *demos*. At the apparent death of their leader, the demoralised popular party kept quiet, and the supporters of Xenias assembled in the *agora*. Meanwhile, however, the real Thrasydaios was sleeping off a hangover, and when the people realised that he had not been killed they rallied around him. Thrasydaios led them in defeating the supporters of Xenias, who fled to the Lakedaimonians. Agis then retired back across the Alpheios and, leaving a garrison with the Eleian exiles at Epitalion, disbanded his army and returned home.<sup>45</sup>

During the remainder of the summer and the following winter, Xenophon reports, the men in Epitalion plundered the Eleian countryside, and at the approach of the following summer Thrasydaios was sent to Lakedaimon offering peace.<sup>46</sup> At this point, it is worth noting that Xenophon fails to sufficiently explain why the Eleian democrats, who had been victorious inside the city, now offered peace terms. Aside from the desertion of two allied *poleis* to the south of the Alpheios and of certain perioikic communities to the north of its lower reaches, we would be inclined to assume from Xenophon's account alone that all the demes of the Eleian *polis*, as well as the Skillountians and the Akroreians, had remained loyal. The Lakedaimonian garrison and Eleian exiles at Epitalion, although commanding the mouth of the Alpheios and perhaps even the country between the two main ports and the city of Elis, would have found it difficult to cut off supplies to the Eleians so long as the routes northwards to Akhaia and inland to Arkadia remained open. The Eleians, however, did not ask for peace until the following spring, so there was plenty of time for further events which may explain their otherwise surprising capitulation.

Diodoros clearly reports a different campaign.<sup>47</sup> According to his account, like Agis in Xenophon's narrative, King Pausanias was accompanied by contingents from all the allies except the Boiotians and Korinthians. Unlike Agis, however, he invaded the land of Elis via Arkadia, taking the border fortress of Lasion, winning over the four communities of the Akroreians and capturing the Eleian deme of Pylos, which lay near the Peneios upstream from the city of Elis. Also unlike Agis, Pausanias besieged Elis, but the Eleians, we find, in company with a thousand picked Aitolians whom they had received as allies, 'pouring out from the city, terrified the Lakedaimonians and struck down nearly 300 of them'. Pausanias raised the siege, but went on to ravage the countryside, even though it was sacred. By this time winter had arrived, so he built some forts in Eleia, left garrisons in them and wintered in Akhaian Dyme.<sup>48</sup> In his entry for the following year, Diodoros records that the Eleians, fearing the superiority of the Lakedaimonians, ended the war.<sup>49</sup>

According to Pausanias, Agis in his first campaign reached Olympia and the Alpheios, fighting a battle in the Altis before the earthquake led him to evacuate Eleia.<sup>50</sup> He also appears, however, to assign an Eleian victory in the Altis to Agis' second campaign. This leads Roy to consider the possibility that the fighting in the sanctuary took place while the forces at Epitalion were ravaging Eleian territory. Xenophon, however, takes care to specify that Agis sacrificed at the Altis unopposed near the beginning of his second campaign and so seems to imply



that this was not the case in his first.<sup>51</sup> This raises an alternative possibility: that while Pausanias was mistaken in assigning the Eleian victory in the Altis to Agis' second invasion when it really occurred during his first, Xenophon has neglected to mention this event, ascribing Agis' withdrawal to the earthquake alone and failing to report the Eleian victory. Agis' reappearance with greater forces in his second campaign would then have forced the Eleians to abandon the sanctuary, allowing him to sacrifice, as Xenophon stresses, unopposed. Pausanias also provides the valuable information that Xenias, the leader of the party opposed to the Eleian democrats, was the *proxenos* of the Lakedaimonians and a *xenos* of Agis, and that Agis left the Spartan commander and a company of troops with the Eleian exiles so that they might help the Lepreans (not mentioned by Xenophon in this context) ravage the land.<sup>52</sup>

There can hardly be any doubt that the campaign of King Pausanias recounted by Diodoros is a different one from that of Agis in Xenophon's account, and both campaigns seem to have taken place in the same summer.<sup>53</sup> Although not mentioning King Pausanias, Xenophon does report that certain Arkadians and Akhaians began to plunder Eleia once Agis' second invasion had commenced.<sup>54</sup> Sordi reasonably proposes that this 'was not an initiative of hostile natives attracted to the booty, but a second front opened under the command of the second Spartan king and with the deliberate intention of shutting down all outlets of Eleian resistance'. She points to links between King Pausanias and the Arkadians and to the withdrawal of his forces to Akhaian Dyme once the winter had arrived.<sup>55</sup> The surrender of the Eleians after that winter, with one Peloponnesian army under Pausanias quartered on their northern border and another about to be mobilised under Agis, is thus entirely explicable. Both the second campaign of Agis and the invasion of Pausanias, it appears, took place in the second summer of the war, and peace was made early in the third year.<sup>56</sup>

It is easy to explain why Xenophon was reluctant to mention King Pausanias' contribution to the war. Pausanias had been tried but narrowly acquitted for failing to crush the Athenian democrats at the Peiraeus when he had the opportunity in 403 BC.<sup>57</sup> His trial was clearly a matter of political importance at Sparta, since, as Andrewes points out, Lysandros' 'policy for Athens was wrecked by the intervention of King Pausanias in summer 403, and his defeat was sealed by the acquittal of Pausanias'.<sup>58</sup> Among those in Sparta who voted to condemn Pausanias was the other king, Agis.<sup>59</sup> Pausanias, it seems, was prepared for the sake of the security of the Lakedaimonian state to tolerate democracy among the allies, and the hardliners at Sparta resented him for it.<sup>60</sup> Later, he neither came to the aid of Lysandros in time to prevent his defeat at the hands of the Thebans at Haliartos in 395 BC nor gave battle to the Thebans and Athenians afterwards. For these actions, he was sentenced to death in Sparta and forced to flee to Tegea.<sup>61</sup> Pausanias was also well disposed towards the Mantineian democrats.<sup>62</sup> Since Xenophon appears to have composed the passages of his *Hellenika* which deal with the Eleian War well after the prosecution of Pausanias, he must have been fully conscious of these events as he wrote.<sup>63</sup> Xenophon enjoyed a close relationship with Agesilaos, the brother and successor of Agis,<sup>64</sup> and appears to have belonged to 'the network of "best men"

through whom Agesilaos sought to control Peloponnesian affairs on an oligarchical basis'.<sup>65</sup> It should thus not surprise us if he were prepared, by means of omitting any references to Pausanias, to give all the credit for the Lakedaimonian victory over the Eleians to Agis.<sup>66</sup> Diodoros, it should be noted, omits at least as much as Xenophon, but in this case the apparent lack of actual battles in Agis' second campaign, rather than, as Roy suspects, some polemical purpose, may have influenced his choice of what to include in his brief outline of events.<sup>67</sup>

Xenophon, immediately after recording the peace terms, reports that Agis died at Heraia on his way home from dedicating a tenth of the spoils of the war at Delphi, so he rather than King Pausanias appears to have ended the war.<sup>68</sup> Pausanias reports that 'in the third year of the war the Lakedaimonians under Agis prepared to invade Eleia again, but the Eleians under Thrasydaos – for they had been suffering in the extreme – agreed [to make peace]'.<sup>69</sup> The extreme suffering which caused the Eleians to come to terms may well have resulted from King Pausanias' campaign, which appears designed to cut the supply lines into Elis from Arkadia and Akhaia and thus complete the isolation of the Eleians.<sup>70</sup> The fortresses which Pausanias constructed and garrisoned, of course, would have prolonged this situation throughout the winter and up to the time when Agis began to prepare for another invasion, one which the Eleians in the city would have been in no condition to withstand. As a result, they asked for the peace which seems to have been concluded in time for the Olympic festival of 400 BC.

### The peace settlement

The terms of the peace at the end of the Eleian War clearly went beyond the original demands of the Spartans.<sup>71</sup> According to Xenophon, the Eleians sent to Lakedaimon and offered to tear down the walls of Pheia and Kyllene and to give up Phrixa, Epitalion, the Letrinians, the Amphidolians, the Marganeians, the Akroreians and Lasion. They asked to be allowed to keep Epeion on the grounds that they had once bought it, but the Lakedaimonians insisted that they surrender it as well. They were, however, allowed to retain Olympia. Eleian Pylos, although captured by Pausanias, also appears to have remained in Eleian hands, probably because, like the two ports, it was an integral component of the Eleian *polis*. 'When these things had been agreed upon,' reports Xenophon, 'a peace and alliance of the Eleians with the Lakedaimonians took place.' Diodoros reports that the Eleians initiated the peace and agreed to allow their perioikic *poleis* to be *autonomoi*, and adds that they had to surrender their triremes. According to Pausanias, 'the Eleians agreed not to rule over their *perioikoi* any longer, to tear down the walls of their city and to allow the Lakedaimonians to sacrifice to the god in Olympia and to compete in the games.'<sup>72</sup>

Before initiating the war, the Spartans had sent ambassadors to Elis demanding that the Eleians allow the cities of their *perioikis* to be *autonomoi*.<sup>73</sup> These *perioikoi*, in contrast to both the *Eleioi* and their *symmakhoi* to the south of the Alpheios, seem to have inhabited certain districts between the Peneios and Alpheios valleys. An Athenian force which had landed between the mouth of the

Alpheios and Cape Ikthys during the Arkhidamian War was opposed by 300 picked men from both *koile* Elis and the *perioikis*.<sup>74</sup> The Letrinians, Amphidolians and Marganeians, who went over to Agis as soon as he crossed the Alpheios,<sup>75</sup> occupied the district inland from where the Athenians had landed, so they are likely to have constituted the inhabitants of this Eleian perioikic territory. We know that the Letrinians and Amphidolians were among the communities which, apart from the Eleians, dedicated cultic equipment to Zeus Olympios,<sup>76</sup> perhaps fulfilling an obligation which arose from their perioikic status. The Akroreians, too, whose four cities in the elevated district of north-eastern Eleia Pausanias had won over when he invaded Eleia from Arkadia and who also donated cultic equipment at Olympia, appear perioikic.<sup>77</sup> Roy is unable to explain why the Letrinians, Amphidolians and Marganeians were not integrated into the Eleian state at an early period.<sup>78</sup> Perhaps the Amphidolians and Marganeians, who seem to have inhabited the hilly country between the Alpheios and Peneios valleys rather than the plains,<sup>79</sup> had not taken part in the early pastoral cult at the site of Olympia and thus were not included in the Eleian *ethnos* as it emerged during the Archaic period. This topographical factor, it is true, would not account for the perioikic status of the Letrinians, whom Pausanias locates unequivocally on the plain two-fifths of the way from Olympia to Elis.<sup>80</sup> As the Eleian *ethnos* took shape early in the Archaic period, however, the Letrinians, who had enjoyed friendly relations with the Eleians 'from the beginning' and had thus somehow remained distinct from them, may have continued to focus their own separate identity upon what appears to have been a significant sanctuary of Artemis Alpeiaia located within their territory, rather than upon Olympia.<sup>81</sup> The decision of these three perioikic communities to go over to the invaders at the approach of the armies of Agis and Pausanias might reflect a popular desire to escape Eleian domination, but it is also possible that their oligarchs had colluded with the Lakedaimonians. Agis, at least, is likely to have ensured that the communities which fell into his hands became *autonomoi* as he understood the term, that is, that they were governed by narrow oligarchies.

Roy is also unable to explain why Xenophon names 'certain particular perioikic poleis in Triphylia' as having received autonomy but not others.<sup>82</sup> The fact that Xenophon names Lasion, Epeion and Phrixa as places rather than communities (such as 'the Letrinians') suggests an explanation. King Pausanias had captured Lasion, an important fortress which could either defend or expose the route into Eleia from north-western Arkadia, depending upon who held it.<sup>83</sup> We hear nothing of either Epeion or Phrixa in relation to the course of the war, but they may have fallen into the hands of the Spartans and their allies in a similar way. Epeion was located just to the south of the Alpheios opposite its confluence with the Erymanthos and thus commanded the road into the Alpheios valley from Arkadia.<sup>84</sup> The Eleians had once purchased this place from its previous inhabitants,<sup>85</sup> perhaps for the specific purpose of fortifying the Arkadian frontier at that point. Phrixa commanded a crossing of the Alpheios upstream from Olympia, on the most direct route from Arkadia to the sanctuary.<sup>86</sup> Whatever their former status, by the end of the fifth century BC all three of these places, as components

of a defensive system along the Arkadian border, may have become direct possessions of the Eleian *polis*. Epitalion, which had been ‘brought over’ to Agis by the neighbouring Makistians, may by then have acquired a similar status. It was no doubt because of its highly strategic position commanding both the entrance to and a significant ford of the Alpheios that Agis had garrisoned Epitalion during the war, making it both an allied base of operations and a refuge for the Eleian oligarchic exiles led by Xenias.<sup>87</sup> The places which Roy includes among the ‘perioikic poleis in Triphylia’ which the Eleians were obliged to give up may thus have been neither perioikic nor *poleis* by this time, but simply fortresses. But what of the actual ‘Triphylian’ *poleis*, which are not specifically named in this context?

‘The Eleians and their allies’ are mentioned in an inscription from Olympia, and the text of the quadruple alliance of 420 BC also suggests that the Eleians, like the other parties to the agreement, controlled the foreign relations of certain subject allies.<sup>88</sup> These allies appear to have been the Lepreans, Makistians and certain smaller communities of the region around and to the south of Mount Lapithas, whose status was quite distinct from that of the Eleian *perioikoi*. Nielsen finds it ‘impossible to prove’ that the allies of the Eleians were identical to their perioikic communities, but goes on to provide evidence which he believes suggests that this was actually the case. In Xenophon’s report the Lakedaimonians demand that the Eleians make their perioikic *poleis* autonomous, and when Agis passes into Eleian-dominated territory the Lepreans and Makistians (who bring over the Epitalians) defect and go over to him. Once he has crossed the Alpheios, the Letrinians, Amphidolians and Marganeians also go over.<sup>89</sup> Pausanias, Nielsen further claims, actually describes Lepreon as perioikic.<sup>90</sup> The verb which Xenophon uses to describe ‘the defection,’ he continues, ‘is often used about defection from a *symmachia*’.<sup>91</sup>

As Nielsen acknowledges, however, it is a mere inference that all the communities which went over to Agis were perioikic. Against this inference, the fact that only those communities which were either clearly perioikic or directly possessed by the Eleians are mentioned in reports of the peace agreement suggests that those whose names do not appear, such as the Lepreans and Makistians, belonged to a different category. In contrast to the *perioikoi* and the direct possessions of the Eleian *polis*, it seems, these communities were the former, nominally independent allies of the Eleians who in joining Agis as he marched northwards from Messenia had already changed their allegiance and thus did not need to be mentioned in the peace agreement. Nor does the passage from Pausanias suggest that Lepreon was perioikic, and by mentioning the Lepreans in addition to the *perioikoi*, in fact, Pausanias seems rather to distinguish between the two.<sup>92</sup> The verb which Xenophon uses to describe ‘the defection’ (ἀφίστημι), moreover, which Nielsen makes clear is ‘often used about defection from a *symmachia*’,<sup>93</sup> he uses only in regard to the Lepreans and Makistians, so its appearance suggests that we should identify these peoples as *symmakhoi* in distinction to the three perioikic communities across the Alpheios, who simply go over (προσχωρέω) to Agis. The Eleian reply to the Spartan demand to make their *perioikoi* autonomous, namely that they would comply ‘when they saw that the perioikic *poleis* of Sparta were free’,<sup>94</sup>

furthermore, suggests that the Eleian *perioikoi* lived in communities which stood in a relationship to the Eleians similar to that of the Lakonian and Messenian *perioikoi* to the Spartans; that is, quite a different one from that which appears to have existed between the Eleians and the Lepreans.

The surrender of the Eleian fleet and the requirement to demolish the fortifications of Kyllene and Pheia found in the report of Diodoros,<sup>95</sup> Falkner believes, suggest that the Lakedaimonians wanted to use these Eleian harbours to counter the interests of the Corinthians in the west and send aid to Dionysios, tyrant of Syrakousai, against the Carthaginians.<sup>96</sup> Whatever the specific policy objectives of the Lakedaimonians, naval considerations do seem to have been influential.<sup>97</sup> No source presents a comprehensive account of the Eleian War, and the Eleians, whose contribution to the Peloponnesian fleet in the Arkhidamian War had been significant, might during their own war with the Lakedaimonians have emulated the former strategy of the Athenians by raiding the coastal districts of their enemy. This is especially plausible when we recall that the Lakedaimonians fought this war without the assistance of the maritime-oriented Corinthians and their allies.<sup>98</sup> The surrender of the Eleian fleet may also have contributed to the success of the campaign which the Lakedaimonians soon undertook against the Messenians of Kephallenia and Naupaktos.<sup>99</sup> As Roy observes, on the other hand, 'Eleans committed to the navy or to work in the harbours were more likely to include democrats',<sup>100</sup> so the Lakedaimonian demand that the fortifications of the two ports be demolished and the triremes be surrendered may also have been intended to prevent any resurgence or independent action on the part of the democratic element among the Eleians.

The consequences of the peace were more far-reaching than the terms alone would suggest.<sup>101</sup> The report in Pausanias that Xenias, who led the attempted oligarchic coup in Elis, was the *proxenos* of the Lakedaimonians and a personal friend of Agis need not suggest that his coup was undertaken merely to turn the city over to the enemy.<sup>102</sup> Xenias' opponent Thrasydaïos was the leader of the *demos*, had contributed two talents to the democratic Athenian exiles in 404/403 BC and had become the *xenos* of the Athenian democrat Thrasyboulos,<sup>103</sup> so the two factions were clearly differentiated by their opposing political orientations. If Xenias' faction had succeeded in bringing the city over to the Lakedaimonians, the latter, as Cartledge points out, would then have supported 'this "convenient" faction as the legitimate oligarchic government of Elis'.<sup>104</sup> The 'bringing over' of Epitalion by the Makistians made possible Agis' crossing of the Alpheios, which brought about the desertion of the perioikic communities of the Letrinians, Amphidolians and Marganeians, whom the Lakedaimonians had already demanded be made *autonomoi*. This sequence of events seems less spontaneous than Xenophon's report would imply, and the links between Agis and the faction led by Xenias also suggest some degree of collusion,<sup>105</sup> despite the historian's silence on Agis' involvement and the latter's apparent absence in the vicinity of Kyllene during the coup attempt.<sup>106</sup>

The unwillingness (rather than the inability)<sup>107</sup> of Agis to capture the city of Elis is best understood in the light of his behaviour towards Argos at an earlier time.

In 418 BC, although in a position of great military advantage, Agis had preferred to negotiate with one of the Argive generals and the Lakedaimonian *proxenos*, who were acting of their own accord and not on behalf of the people, rather than do battle with the Argives and their allies. For this failure to assault the city, Agis was convicted at home, but soon obtained a reprieve.<sup>108</sup> As Kagan explains, it is likely that:

the two Argives, certainly leaders of the aristocratic faction, promised Agis that a coup d'état was forthcoming which would overthrow the democracy and bring to power a government favorable to Sparta. Such a development would make war unnecessary and accomplish the aims of Spartan policy.<sup>109</sup>

Even after Agis' eventual military victory at Mantinea, instead of attacking the city of Argos the Lakedaimonians waited at Tegea, negotiated with their friends in the city who wanted to overthrow the democracy and sent the same Likhas who had been beaten for his provocative behaviour at Olympia in 420 BC to offer war or peace. This time, the friends of the Lakedaimonians in Argos were able to persuade their fellow-citizens first to vote for peace and then to make an alliance with them. The overthrow of the Argive democracy soon followed.<sup>110</sup> It is likely that the victor of Mantinea was a leading advocate of this approach and that he attempted to apply the same method in dealing with the Eleians seventeen years later. Xenophon's report that Agis was unwilling to take the city of Elis thus implies that he wanted to give the Eleian oligarchs time to overthrow the democrats, which they soon attempted to do.<sup>111</sup>

In the first year of the Eleian War, Agis had marched across the Peneios valley from Akhaia to reach Olympia. In the second year he had facilitated the revolt of the Lepreans and Makistians and the desertion of the Letrinians, Amphidolians and Marganeians from the Eleians. In the same summer Pausanias had captured Lasion and Eleian Pylos, and won over the Akroreian communities. In three campaigns over two summers, the Lakedaimonians and their allies had marched across the open country, ravaging and plundering the land.<sup>112</sup> If they had desired merely to vent their anger at the Eleians for their past actions, these campaigns should have satisfied them. If they had intended to release the allies and *perioikoi* of the Eleians from their control and bring them into their own sphere, they had largely succeeded in doing so. Yet after two years of warfare the Lakedaimonians planned to invade Eleia once again, and we must explain this by some means other than their anger at the events which arose out of the dispute over Lepreon or their desire to make the *perioikoi* of the Eleians *autonomoi*. One objective which they had not attained was the imposition of oligarchic government upon the Eleian *polis*, and this could only be achieved, once Xenias' coup had failed, through the surrender of the city and the return of the oligarchic exiles.

The very fact that Agis installed the wealthy Xenias and his supporters in Epitalion after they had been driven out by the *demos* implies that he intended that their party should be restored to power in Elis,<sup>113</sup> and, as Kelly suggests, 'it seems merely a chance omission that nothing is said of the oligarchs returning



from exile.<sup>114</sup> Pausanias, indeed, saw at Olympia a statue of the Olympic victor Arkhedamos, son of Xenias, who was an Eleian by birth. The statue had been sculpted by Alypos of Sikyon, who worked in the first half of the fourth century BC, and Moretti places Arkhedamos' victory in 396 BC.<sup>115</sup> An Eleian with a similar name to that of Xenias' son, a man called Arkhidamos, went as Eleian ambassador to the Persian king in 367/366 BC, accompanied by a certain Argeios, who was to become one of the leaders of the democrats during the Eleian–Arkadian War of 365–363 BC.<sup>116</sup> Ruggeri deduces from this evidence that Argeios must have been sent to ensure that the interests of the democrats were considered at the negotiations and that Arkhidamos must therefore have been the leader of the opposite faction. This Arkhidamos, she suggests, should be identified with Arkhedamos, son of Xenias, and the presence of Xenias' son in Elis suggests that the father had also returned, in which case his followers had probably done the same. As Ruggeri concludes, these two notices stand 'in favour of the hypothesis of a Spartan intervention in the Eleians' home affairs at the end of the war in order to secure the return to their country of the oligarchic exiles, upon whose destiny the ancient authors are otherwise silent'.<sup>117</sup>

Ruggeri maintains, nevertheless, that the Spartans did not impose a change of regime upon the Eleians.<sup>118</sup> The fall of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens had shown them the folly of political intervention, and the terms of the peace, she believes, were determined by King Pausanias, who was tolerant of democracy.<sup>119</sup> It is more likely, however, as maintained above, that King Agis carried out the peace negotiations.<sup>120</sup> Agis, who stood at the centre of a powerful and vigorously pro-oligarchic group at Sparta, appears to have hoped that the party of Xenias would bring the city over to the Lakedaimonians, and it was he who had installed the exiled oligarchs in Epitalion, intending to return them to Elis in triumph.<sup>121</sup> Agis had not easily been deterred from his attempt to put an end to the democracy in Argos,<sup>122</sup> and there is no sign that he had changed his inclination by the time of the Eleian War. Zoumbaki insists that 'the victorious Spartans, who profited from the peace terms, which were humiliating for the Eleians, had no cause to instigate a constitutional change'.<sup>123</sup> If constitutional change had been the underlying objective of Agis and his supporters from the outset of the war, however, no amount of humiliation would have satisfied them.<sup>124</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21–3; Diod. 14.17.4–5; Paus. 3.8.3; 6.2.3.
- 2 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21; this volume, Ch. 7.
- 3 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.22.
- 4 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23.
- 5 This volume, p. 143.
- 6 Thuc. 5.50.4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.22.
- 7 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.22.
- 8 Sordi 1984, 21; Unz 1986, 29; cf. Lewis 1994, 41.
- 9 Cartledge 1987, 250–1, citing Thuc 8.64.5 as 'one of the nicest examples'; cf. Krentz 1994, 173; Roy 1997b, 3.
- 10 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23. On these communities, this volume, pp. 109, 174–6.



- 11 This volume, pp. 132–9.
- 12 Thuc. 5.76.2, cf. 39.3–40.5.
- 13 Thuc. 5.77.5.
- 14 LSJ s.v. *πάτριος* A.II; Hornblower 2008, 199–200. Finley 1971, 3–14 shows that the interpretation of expressions like *patrios politeia* was a matter of fierce political contention in Athens at the end of the fifth century BC.
- 15 Thuc. 5.79.1.
- 16 Ostwald 1982, 5–6.
- 17 Thuc. 5.79.1–5.
- 18 Thuc. 5.79.1; Hornblower 2008, 201–2.
- 19 Thuc. 5.81.2.
- 20 Diod. 12.75.7; cf. Thuc. 5.67.2; Grote 1907 VII, 129, 140.
- 21 Hornblower 2008, 177–9.
- 22 Arist. *Pol.* 5.3.5, 1304a.25–7.
- 23 Thuc. 5.67.2, 72.3, 73.2–4; Diod. 12.79.4–7; cf. Kagan 1960, 308.
- 24 Thuc. 5.81.2.
- 25 Griffin 1982, 65, 69; cf. Grote 1907 VII, 146; Hornblower 2008, 208–9; Robinson 2011, 50–1; *contra* Tomlinson 1972, 124.
- 26 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.44; Griffin 1982, 65.
- 27 Thuc. 5.81.2; Hornblower 2008, 208.
- 28 Diod. 12.80.2–3; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 5.3.5, 1304a.25–7; Kagan 1960, 309.
- 29 Thuc. 5.82.1.
- 30 Thuc. 5.82.2–6; cf. Diod. 12.80.3, 81.1.
- 31 For other instances of Spartan interference in the internal politics of allied states, see Ruggeri 2004, 71–2.
- 32 Diod. 14.17.5–6; Paus 3.8.3; Krentz 1994, 173. For terms such as *καταδουλόω* denoting subjection as well as actual slavery, Bourke 2011, 146–7. Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23 credits the Eleians with an entirely different reply, that they held these cities by right of conquest, but these reports may all be selections from the same Eleian speech.
- 33 Diod. 14.17.4.
- 34 Diod. 14.17.5–6.
- 35 Diod. 14.17.5–6; Falkner 1996, 22 takes Diodoros to mean that ‘the Spartan claim to be avenging the past was only a pretext’, but if the charges are included, so must be the demands. Roy 1997b, 3 seems to include only the demands; cf. Buckler 2003, 15.
- 36 Roy 2009, 77.
- 37 Paus. 3.8.3.
- 38 Paus. 6.2.2–3 *μαστιγοῦσιν*; cf. Thuc. 5.50.4 *πληγὰς ἔλαβεν*; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21 *μαστιγοῦντες*.
- 39 Roy 2009, 77; this volume, pp. 132–6, 156.
- 40 Cartledge 1987, 250.
- 41 Underhill 1893, 156.
- 42 Hönle 1972, 22 n.1; de Ste. Croix 1972, 345; Cartledge 1979, 271; 1987, 249; Sordi 1984, 20; Gehrke 1985, 53 and n.7; Missiou-Ladi 1987, 343; Siewert 1987–1988, 7; Tuplin 1993, 201–4; Lewis 1994, 41; Krentz 1994, 171; Ruggeri 2004, 16 n.1; Roy 2009, 81. Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.21, cf. 1.8–2.20 makes the Eleian War contemporary with the campaign of Derkylidas in Asia, believed to have begun in 399 BC, but this synchronism is highly dubious: Cawkwell 1979, 154 n.; Kelly 1975, 24–6; Unz 1986, 37 and n.18; Tuplin 1993, 204; Krentz 1994, 171; Low 2007, 41 n.33.
- 43 Parker 2001, 353, cf. n.3.
- 44 Buckler 2003, 18 n.6; cf. Wilker 2012, 94 n.13.
- 45 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23–9; cf. Paus. 7.10.2.
- 46 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30.
- 47 Kelly 1975, 26–7; Sordi 1984, 25; Unz 1986, 31; Tuplin 1993, 202; Krentz 1994, 171; Roy 2009, 80–1.

- 48 Diod. 14.17.7–12.
- 49 Diod. 14.34.1.
- 50 Paus. 3.8.4.
- 51 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26; Paus. 5.4.8, 20.4–5, 27.11; 6.2.3, 8; Roy 2009, 78–9, 85.
- 52 Paus. 3.8.4–5.
- 53 Kelly 1975, 30; Sordi 1984, 26; Unz 1986, 32–4.
- 54 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26.
- 55 Sordi 1984, 24–6; Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.25; 5.2.3; Diod. 14.17.12.
- 56 Cf. Tuplin 1993, 204; Ruggeri 2004, 71 n.151.
- 57 Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.30–9, cf. 5.25; Paus. 3.5.1–2.
- 58 Andrewes 1978, 100.
- 59 Paus. 3.5.2.
- 60 Kelly 1975, 36; Andrewes 1978, 101.
- 61 Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.6–7, 16–25; Paus. 3.5.2.
- 62 Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.3.
- 63 Brownson 1943, viii–ix; Cawkwell 1979, 18.
- 64 Xen. *Ages.* 1.1, 2.11, 7.6–7; *Anab.* 5.3.6–7; Diog. Laert. 2.51–3.
- 65 Cartledge 1987, 252; cf. Kelly 1975, 39.
- 66 Brownson 1943, ix–x; Cawkwell 1976, 71–4; 1979, 12–13, 22–3. Kelly 1975, 26, cf. 25 is kinder to Xenophon, suggesting that the fact that he reported only Agis’ part in the war is ‘a sign that interest in Agesilaus’ predecessor had led him to the subject’.
- 67 Unz 1986, 35; Roy 2009, 80–1.
- 68 *Contra* Unz 1986, 30–7.
- 69 Paus. 3.8.5.
- 70 Cf. Roy 2009, 81.
- 71 Missiou-Ladi 1987, 343; Roy 1997b, 3; 2009, 82. Isokrates 8.100 was even prepared to describe their actions as theft.
- 72 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30–1; Diod. 14.17.9, 34.1; Paus. 3.8.5.
- 73 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23; cf. Diod. 14.17.5.
- 74 Thuc. 2.25.3.
- 75 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25.
- 76 This volume, pp. 89–90.
- 77 Diod. 14.17.8.
- 78 Roy 2012, 134.
- 79 *Contra* Taita 1999, 170, who locates them in the Alpheios valley itself.
- 80 Paus. 6.22.8.
- 81 Paus. 6.22.8–11. The transfer of the cult of Alpheiaia to Elis also reported by Pausanias may reflect the incorporation of the Letrinians into the Eleian *polis* at some later time.
- 82 Roy 2009, 82.
- 83 Diod. 14.17.8; cf. Polyb. 4.72.7, 73.1, 2, 74.1; 5.102.6.
- 84 Nielsen 2004, 542–3.
- 85 Hdt. 4.148.4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.31.
- 86 This volume, p. 8; Nielsen 2004, 545.
- 87 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 29.
- 88 Minon 5 = *NIO* 2; Thuc. 5.47.1–2; this volume, pp. 109–11.
- 89 Nielsen 1997, 140–1; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23, 25.
- 90 Paus. 3.8.3.
- 91 Nielsen 1997, 141; cf. Hdt. 9.106.4; Thuc. 5.31.2, 5; Nielsen 1996, 76.
- 92 As Roy 1997a, 310 n.12 points out in reference to a similarly constructed statement of the same author, ‘the use of ἄλλος in enumeration to mean “not another of the same category” but simply “moreover” or “besides” is well known’; cf. LSJ ἄλλος II.8. The passage under discussion (Paus. 3.8.3) has καὶ ὅσοι τῶν περὶοίκων ἄλλοι, while that discussed by Roy (Paus. 5.10.2) has καὶ ὅσον τῶν περὶοίκων ἄλλο.
- 93 Nielsen 1997, 141; cf. Ruggeri 2004, 69.

- 94 Paus 3.8.3; this volume, p. 154.
- 95 Diod 14.41.3–44.1. The walls which Pausanias 3.8.5 reports the Eleians had to tear down were most likely those of Kyllene and Pheia, rather than of the apparently unwall'd city of Elis: cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27; Krentz 1994, 175; Roy 2009, 82–5; *contra* Cawkwell 1976, 75 n.48; 1979, 156 n.; cf. Cartledge 1987, 251.
- 96 Falkner 1996, 23–4; cf. Roy 1997b, 1–2.
- 97 Roy 2009, 84.
- 98 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25; Diod. 14.17.7; this volume, pp. 121–2.
- 99 Diod. 14.34.2–3; cf. Falkner 1996, 23; Buckler 2003, 18–19.
- 100 Roy 1997b, 3.
- 101 Cf. Cartledge 1987, 250.
- 102 Paus. 3.8.4.
- 103 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27–3; Paus. 3.8.4–5; Plut. *Mor.* 835F; cf. Lysias fr. 1.163–71; Edwards 1999, 2.
- 104 Cartledge 1987, 251.
- 105 Unz 1986, 31; Roy 1997b, 2; Ruggeri 2004, 23–4; *contra* Buckler 2003, 18.
- 106 Roy 2009, 78.
- 107 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27.
- 108 Thuc. 5.59.4, 60.1–4, 63.1–4.
- 109 Kagan 1960, 308.
- 110 Thuc. 5.76.1–80.1, 81.2; this volume, pp. 153–4.
- 111 Ruggeri 2004, 24.
- 112 Xen. *Hell.* 3.23–5, 26–7, 30; Diod. 14.17.8–10; Paus. 3.8.3–5.
- 113 Cartledge 1987, 251; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27–9.
- 114 Kelly 1975, 40.
- 115 Paus. 6.1.3; Moretti no. 369; cf. Ruggeri 2004, 24; Zoumbaki 2005, 115–16.121.
- 116 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.33, 4.15.
- 117 Ruggeri 2004, 24–5; cf. Zoumbaki 2005, 93–4.82, 115–16.121, 118–19.131.
- 118 Ruggeri 2004, 25, 27; cf. Gehrke 1985, 54 n.12; Roy 1997b, 2–3; Zoumbaki 2005, 94; Robinson 2011, 30–1, 184 fig. 4.1, 186.
- 119 Ruggeri 2004, 27–8.
- 120 This volume, p. 160.
- 121 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27–9; Paus. 3.8.4–5; Cartledge 1987, 251.
- 122 Thuc. 5.82.2–6; Diod. 12.78.1–6, 79.7–80.3.
- 123 Zoumbaki 2005, 93.
- 124 The likely nature of the oligarchy which the Lakedaimonians imposed upon the *polis* of the Eleians is discussed in Ch. 9, this volume.

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## 9 The early fourth century BC

### The *polis* of the Eleians

Pausanias' report that at the 50th Olympiad the Eleians began to select two *hellanodikai* by lot seems to refer to a reform instituted in association with the synoikism of 471 BC.<sup>1</sup> Pausanias also records that in Ol. 95 the Eleians 'appointed (κατέστησαν) nine *hellanodikai*'.<sup>2</sup> Two Olympiads later they added a tenth, and from Ol. 103 one came from each of the twelve tribes.<sup>3</sup> In providing these later dates, Pausanias appears to have followed a system which included the 27 Olympiads supposed to have taken place before the first recorded victory, so we can safely convert the Olympic numbers which he provides into dates in the Julian calendar by counting four years for every Olympiad from 776 BC. The change from two to nine *hellanodikai* thus seems to have been carried out in time for the Olympic festival of the summer of 400 BC, the same year in which the Eleians and Lakedaimonians agreed upon the peace terms which ended the Eleian War. The further change from nine to ten *hellanodikai* appears to have taken place by the festival of 392 BC, and that from ten to twelve by 368 BC. These changes in the number and mode of selection of the *hellanodikai* reported by Pausanias may be taken as indicators of constitutional reform among the Eleians. Pausanias' use of verbs which indicate that the *hellanodikai* were 'selected' from 472 BC but 'appointed' from 400 BC suggests that while the democratic procedure of selection by lot was introduced at the time of the synoikism, it was replaced after the Eleian War by an oligarchic method.

The fact that precisely nine *hellanodikai* were appointed in 400 BC may also be significant. Aristotle records that at some time in Elis, 'the government being in the hands of a few, very few took part in the council of elders, since the 90 were chosen for life and the choice was dynastic, as with the council of elders in Lakedaimon'.<sup>4</sup> Although Aristotle gives no indication at all of when this council might have existed, scholars have tended to assume that it was in place in a period before the synoikism of 471 BC and was the central institution of an Archaic Eleian oligarchy.<sup>5</sup> There was no time before the synoikism, however, when a unified Eleian *polis* existed, and the only body entitled to speak for all of the Eleians in that period appears to have been the Olympic Council.<sup>6</sup> If the 90 constituted this council, we would expect Aristotle to have said so, and it is difficult to see how

this precise number of *proxenoi* might have been chosen to represent the perhaps sixteen *poleis* of the Eleians which seem to have existed at the end of the sixth century.<sup>7</sup> The Eleian democracy established at the time of the synoikism was still in place early in 400 BC, when Thrasydaïos, leader of the *demos*, negotiated peace terms with the Lakedaimonians, so a council of 90 elders cannot have governed the *polis* of the Eleians before then. It must, on the other hand, have done so before Aristotle's *Politics* was composed soon after the death of Philip II in 336 BC.<sup>8</sup> When we consider that the appointment of nine *hellanodikai* for the Olympic festivals of 400 and 396 BC would sit well with a constitution in which power was in the hands of a council of 90, a more precise dating becomes possible.<sup>9</sup> Gehrke, surprisingly unable to find any historical context for a change from two to nine *hellanodikai* in 400 BC, sees the similarities with the Spartan *gerontes* in regard to tenure of office and method of choosing the councillors noted by Aristotle as evidence that the constitution of the 90 belonged to the Archaic period.<sup>10</sup> These features may suggest instead, however, that the constitution of Sparta provided a model for reform in 400 BC and that the establishment of the new, restrictive constitution was associated with the return to Elis, once peace was concluded, of the fabulously wealthy Lakedaimonian *proxenos* Xenias and his followers.<sup>11</sup>

In the passage cited above, Aristotle is providing an example of how an oligarchy might break up when, although there are few citizens, not even all of these are admitted to the highest offices.<sup>12</sup> He thus implies that the rule of the Council of Ninety was supplanted by a broader government. Plutarch reports that 'some men, curtailing a burdensome and oligarchical council, like Ephialtes at Athens and Phormion for the Eleians, gained power and reputation at the same time'. Elsewhere, he makes the identity of this Phormion clear: 'Plato sent one of his companions, Aristonymos, away to set in order the constitution of the Arkadians, Phormion to the Eleians and Mendemos to the Pyrrhaïans.'<sup>13</sup> The Eleians may well have consulted him at a time when they needed to resolve the difficulties that Aristotle reports arose from the over-restrictive requirements for membership of the council and admission to the highest magistracies at Elis.<sup>14</sup>

Scholars are in disagreement about the date of Phormion's constitutional reform. It seems, however, to have been introduced before Plato's death in 348/347 BC.<sup>15</sup> Robinson allocates the reform to the mid-fourth century, but it is unlikely to belong to 348 BC, because at that time the Eleians established a democracy, and it would seem incongruous for a follower of Plato, even if Plutarch does mention him alongside Ephialtes, to have introduced this kind of constitution.<sup>16</sup> We can also rule out the reform of 364 BC, introduced after the oligarchs had taken control in Elis, since Plutarch makes it clear that Phormion made the constitution more rather than less inclusive.<sup>17</sup> It may reasonably be associated, however, with the change from ten to twelve *hellanodikai* introduced in time for the Olympiad of 368.<sup>18</sup> Dušanić believes that Phormion established a democracy in Elis soon after the Spartan defeat at Leuktra in 371 BC,<sup>19</sup> but it is more likely that in 371 or soon afterwards he replaced the extreme oligarchy introduced at the end of the Eleian War with a moderate *politeia*.<sup>20</sup> While it is also possible to associate his reform with Pausanias' notice of a change from



nine to ten *hellanodikai* in time for the Olympiad of 392 BC,<sup>21</sup> it is unlikely that the Eleians would have been able to make substantial changes to their constitution while they were subject to the hegemony of the Spartans,<sup>22</sup> and the period just after Leuktra provides a more convincing context.

In 400 BC, it seems, the Lakedaimonians had succeeded in imposing upon the Eleians a highly restrictive form of government, and thus in achieving their stated objective of 'bringing them to their senses'.<sup>23</sup> With only a minor adjustment in 392 BC, this constitution appears to have endured until the end of the period of Spartan hegemony, when, in the reform alluded to by Aristotle and assigned by Plutarch to Phormion, it was replaced by a more inclusive *politeia*.

## The Triphylians

The Eleian War resulted in a comprehensive political restructuring of the entire region of Eleia. Once the Lakedaimonians had detached the allies and the *peri-oikoi*, along with certain fortified places, from Eleian control, they formed these communities into several political entities, the most significant of which was the federal state of the Triphylians.<sup>24</sup> This polity, located between the Alpheios to the north and the Neda to the south and extending almost to Arkadian Alipheira in the east, endured for three decades.<sup>25</sup> It appears to have constituted a federal state consisting of several *poleis*.<sup>26</sup> Four of the places called Minyan by Herodotos – Lepreon, Phrixa, Pyrgos and Epeion/Aipion – are among those which Polybios lists as Triphylian, and an inscription from the fourth century shows that a fifth, Makiston, also joined the new federal state. Xenophon, in addition, calls Epitalion (along with Phrixa) 'Triphylian'.<sup>27</sup> Polybios also lists as Triphylian *poleis* Samikon, Hypana, Bolax and Stylangion. The strategically located Samikon was the site of an important sanctuary, but the others appear to have been upland communities of the Paroreatans and Kaukonians, whose ancestors, perhaps, had once inhabited the lowlands as well.<sup>28</sup> The Minyans, Paroreatans and Kaukonians, indeed, despite Strabo's claims to the contrary,<sup>29</sup> may well have constituted the three tribes to which the name 'Triphylians' referred. It thus seems that the new federal state consisted largely of the Makistians, the Lepreans and some relatively insignificant upland communities, but also incorporated some fortified positions which had formerly belonged to the Eleians. Samikon, although originally a common sanctuary of the Minyans, may have become at this time a federal shrine of the Triphylians, while Makiston was perhaps their political centre.<sup>30</sup>

Since we first hear of Triphyly in Xenophon's report of the peace and it seems to have disappeared after the defeat of the Lakedaimonians at Leuktra in 371 BC, Siewert concludes that it was probably a Lakedaimonian creation.<sup>31</sup> While Nielsen agrees that the concept of Triphyly, along with that of a Triphylian *ethnos*, was 'a construct of the first half of the fourth century',<sup>32</sup> he questions Siewert's view of its formation. The Triphylian *poleis*, Nielsen believes, would willingly have formed a federation to defend their independence and have joined the Lakedaimonian alliance for protection from the Eleians. The creation of a Triphylian ethnic identity, he further argues, presupposes the active involvement of those involved, and this

identity seems to have survived the Spartan defeat at Leuktra, since at Delphi in 369 BC a newly constructed eponymous hero called Triphylos was proclaimed to be the son of the Arkadian *eponym* Arkas.<sup>33</sup> When the Triphylians joined the Arkadian confederacy in that period, they might thus have done so as a single unit and continued to enjoy both a political existence and an ethnic identity.<sup>34</sup> The evidence that Nielsen presents to support this view, however, seems rather to suggest that the Lepreans acted alone in their relations with the Arkadians, and it remains uncertain that a political entity called Triphyly continued to exist in that later period.<sup>35</sup> The Eleians recovered at least some of the Triphylian communities after the Lakedaimonian defeat at Leuktra in 371 BC, and the remainder seem to have attached themselves individually to the Arkadians.<sup>36</sup> Siewert's conclusion that Triphyly was an ephemeral state created and sustained by the Lakedaimonians thus seems justified. Any locally generated impetus for either the union of the various communities into a single state or the alliance of this state with the Lakedaimonians may have originated with the desire of the local oligarchs to gain the support of the Lakedaimonians and each other in suppressing the *damos* in their various communities.

Two inscriptions provide information concerning the political structure of the new state. One of these proves 'the existence of a Triphylian assembly, an executive under an eponymous official, the levying of taxes and the existence of Triphylian citizenship'.<sup>37</sup> In this inscription, 'the Triphylians' make a citizenship grant, two *damiorgoi* are named and the granting of *ateleia panton* implies that there were taxes. In a further inscription, the assembly and a *damiorgos* again appear.<sup>38</sup> These *damiorgoi* may have been delegates of the member cities of the federal state, as in the Arkadian League established c.370 BC,<sup>39</sup> and 'the Triphylians' certainly seem to have constituted an assembly. The mere existence of a federal assembly, on the other hand, reveals little about either the breadth of its membership or the extent of its powers, and the absence of any reference in these inscriptions to either the *damos* or the *plethos* would suggest oligarchy.

### **The former *perioikoi* of the Eleians**

In the course of his invasion of Eleia from Arkadia in 401 BC, King Pausanias had won over the four Akroreian *poleis*, Thraistos, Halion, Eupagion and Opous, and the Eleians were obliged to surrender these in the peace.<sup>40</sup> No literary text mentions the Akroreians in any earlier context, but their name means 'inhabitants of the peaks', and the four cities appear to have been located somewhere in the high country between the Alpheios and the Eleian Ladon. The earliest epigraphic evidence for the Akroreians is found on a shared dedication of the Alasyes and Akroreians to Zeus at Olympia.<sup>41</sup> This inscription is difficult to date: while Siewert places it in the fifth century or early in the fourth, Minon is inclined to assign it to the second quarter of the fifth.<sup>42</sup> Ruggeri, dating the dedication before 400 BC, proposes a common ethnic identity of the Akroreians which preceded the Eleian War.<sup>43</sup> It is clear that they were not considered Arkadian, since even when the Arkadians captured three of their cities in 365/364 BC they did not incorporate

them into their League.<sup>44</sup> On the grounds of their dedication in common with the Alasyes and Strabo's description of Alasyaion as a *khora* around Amphidolia which had once been a *polis* of Pisatis, Ruggeri considers the possibility that they felt a kinship with the Pisatans, whom she believes to have been ethnically separate from the Eleians.<sup>45</sup> The Akroreians were not incorporated into the Pisatan state in 365/364 BC, however, and seem to have enjoyed their own, separate identity or, because *IvO* 258 may yet postdate the Eleian War, individual identities.

The state of the Akroreians, since it consisted of four *poleis*, is likely to have featured a federal structure like that of the Triphylians. Evidence for the nature of the Akroreian constitution can be found in the first of two fragments of an alliance inscription which mentions the Arkadians, Pisatans and Akroreians.<sup>46</sup> The inscribed treaty seems to have obliged the three allies to come to each other's aid in the case of an enemy attack, but also to intervene in defence of their constitutions.<sup>47</sup> Ringel *et al.* conclude from the proximity of the terms *damos* and *politeia* in the document (lines 8–9) that they refer respectively to the constitutions of the Pisatans and Akroreians, and that *politeia* here signifies oligarchy.<sup>48</sup> As Ruggeri points out, however, the editors have reconstructed much of the text and the relevant lines could simply mean 'if someone pulls down the democracy or changes the constitutional arrangement which is in force'.<sup>49</sup> In that case, this inscription would suggest that from the time when the Arkadians captured three of their four *poleis* the constitution of the Akroreians relied upon the support of the powerful, democratic Arkadian League. It may thus well have been oligarchic beforehand.<sup>50</sup>

Lasion, won over by King Pausanias in the second year of the Eleian War and surrendered by the Eleians in the peace, lay in a strategic position which commanded the approaches from north-western Arkadia into both the Peneios and Alpheios valleys, and Diodoros refers to it as a *φρούριον* ('fortress'), so the Eleians seem to have held it for security reasons.<sup>51</sup> In 400 BC, however, it appears to have been established as a separate state, since a Lasionian contingent joined the Lakedaimonian and allied army at Korinth in 394 BC.<sup>52</sup> Who these Lasionians were and how long they had lived there can only be a matter for conjecture, but in the 360s BC they joined the Arkadian League and probably adopted a democratic constitution. If so, Lasion may also have been oligarchic from 400 BC until that time.<sup>53</sup>

The Letrinians, Amphidolians and Marganeians, who lived inland from Pheia and whose territory most likely constituted the Eleian *perioikis* mentioned by Thucydides, appear to have retained their separate identities as independent *poleis*.<sup>54</sup> They contributed only 400 slingers between them to the Lakedaimonian and allied army at Korinth in 394 BC.<sup>55</sup> This might indicate that their populations were very small, though it is also possible that their main forces remained at home to help secure their cities from Eleian attack or even to contribute to preventing a democratic revival among the Eleians at a time when the Lakedaimonian hegemony was under threat from the Thebans, Athenians, Korinthians and Argives at Korinth. Those who betrayed Marganeis to the democratic Arkadians in 365/364 BC were most likely democrats, so the oligarchs are likely to have been dominant until then,<sup>56</sup> perhaps from 400 BC, and the same may be true of the other two communities.

The Lakedaimonians had demanded in the prelude to the Eleian War that the Eleians allow their perioikic *poleis* to be *autonomoi*, a demand which suggests that they hoped to bring them under oligarchic rule.<sup>57</sup> By the terms of the peace, the Eleians were obliged to allow their perioikic *poleis* to be *autonomoi* and no longer to rule them.<sup>58</sup> The available evidence suggests that this is indeed what occurred: the *perioikoi* of the high country between the Alpheios and the Ladon were formed into the federal state of the Akroreians, and the three *poleis* of the district inland from Pheia became independent. Lasion, too, became an independent state. In addition, the Makistians and Lepreans, until then subject allies of the Eleians, joined by some of the smaller communities of the district around Mount Lapithas, formed the federal state of the Triphylians, which also included at least three places which had until then been direct possessions of the Eleians, Phrixa, Epeion and Epitalion. All of these states, large and small, along with the *polis* of the Eleians itself, seem more likely than not to have been ruled by pro-Spartan oligarchies.

### **Olympia and Skillous**

Political considerations may also explain why the Lakedaimonians were prepared to leave the Eleians in control of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios. While the return of the exiles led by Xenias would ensure that the Eleian *polis* was ruled by an oligarchy, the rival claimants for Olympia were, as Xenophon has it, χωρίται ('country people'), and not good enough to run the sanctuary and its festival.<sup>59</sup> The use of this expression may be Xenophon's way of indicating that they were largely the small farmers of the hills and valleys of the neighbourhood of Olympia, whose progenitors appear to have supported the popular faction led by the Omphalionids a century earlier. Along with the ports of Kyllene and Pheia, and by this time the urban centre of Elis itself, the district which they inhabited may have constituted one of the strongholds of Eleian democracy.<sup>60</sup> When the Lakedaimonians and their allies invaded Eleia in 402 and 401 BC, these communities appear to have made no attempt to break away from the democratic *polis* of the Eleians. In 365 BC, however, supported by the Arkadian democrats, they happily became citizens of the newly founded Pisatan state and joined an alliance hostile to the oligarchs who ruled in Elis by then.<sup>61</sup> They were thus loyal to the Eleian democracy and at least indifferent towards the Lakedaimonian oligarchs in 402–400 BC, but disloyal to the Eleian oligarchy and friendly towards the Arkadian democrats in 365–363 BC. Since the Lakedaimonians appear to have invaded Eleia in order to bring it about that both the various communities of the region and the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios remained in oligarchic, pro-Spartan hands,<sup>62</sup> it would have been counter-productive of them, having just accomplished this objective, to now hand the sanctuary over to the very people who presented the greatest threat to that achievement. They preferred instead, of course, to leave the sanctuary in the hands of the narrow Eleian oligarchy of the Council of Ninety and its appointees, the nine *hellanodikai*.<sup>63</sup>

The Lakedaimonians seem to have taken further precautions to ensure that no revived Eleian democracy might again exclude them from Olympia and

encourage the reintroduction of popular government in the various communities of the region which stretched southward to the borders of Messenia. A major component of this strategy may have been the arrangement they made for Skillous, located on a steep ridge rising to the south of the Alpheios directly opposite and just a few kilometres from Olympia, near the modern village of Babés (Maps 2.1, 10.1).<sup>64</sup> This site lay near the intersection of two major routes to Olympia, one leading from Lakonia via Arkadian Heraia, crossing to the left bank of the Alpheios near Phrixa and recrossing to the right bank near the sanctuary, and the other from Messenia via Samikon.<sup>65</sup> Pausanias directly states that the Skillountians were 'from Triphylia' and elsewhere calls them 'one of the *poleis* in Triphylia'.<sup>66</sup> They appear, however, in neither Herodotos' list of six Minyan communities nor Polybios' record of the Triphylian cities, and, since Xenophon reports that in 370 BC the Eleians objected to the independence of 'the Marganeians, the Skillountians and the Triphylians' as separate entities, Pausanias must simply have meant that they lived in the district to the south of the Alpheios known from long before his own time as Triphylia.<sup>67</sup>

Xenophon reports that after his return from the expedition which attempted to install the Persian rebel Kyros as king of Persia he settled at Skillous on land which the Lakedaimonians had granted him near Olympia. Later, with money he had left in safekeeping with the Persian Megabazos, Xenophon purchased another estate near Skillous on the road from Sparta to Olympia and dedicated it to Ephesian Artemis. There he built an altar and a temple for the goddess and established a regular sacrificial festival financed by the produce of the estate.<sup>68</sup> Xenophon also informs us that his sons went hunting with those of the other citizens, so he appears to have become a citizen himself, and it was probably in regard to the Skillountians rather than the Athenians that he acted as *proxenos* of the Lakedaimonians.<sup>69</sup>

According to Pausanias' local guides, when the Eleians later recovered Skillous Xenophon was tried by the Olympic Council for accepting the land from the Lakedaimonians, but was acquitted and allowed to remain there.<sup>70</sup> Diogenes Laertios reports, on the other hand, that when the Eleians marched on Skillous Xenophon retired with his sons to Lepreon and from there departed for Korinth, where he spent the rest of his life.<sup>71</sup> Badian, arguing that nothing contradicts Pausanias' evidence apart from the statement of Diogenes' source, Demetrios of Magnesia, concludes that Xenophon was allowed to return to Skillous in the 360s.<sup>72</sup> Pausanias' report, however, seems more dubious than Diogenes', since it appears to have originated in the unsubstantiated claim of the local residents that an elaborate monument near the sanctuary of Artemis contained Xenophon's remains. Pausanias, it has been pointed out, made much use of oral evidence, 'and it is likely that he looked for private hospitality wherever he could, which would have given him ample time for conversation, most likely with members of the elite'.<sup>73</sup> His informants may have proudly exhibited the 'tomb of Xenophon', whatever the monument in question actually contained. The practice in Pausanias' day of identifying landmarks as the tombs of real or fictional figures from the past may have been widespread, as illustrated, for example, by the questionable identification in Roman times of landmarks in the Troad as the tombs of Homeric heroes.<sup>74</sup>

The unreliability of Pausanias' report of the fate of Xenophon does not necessitate that his testimony that the Lakedaimonians had divided off Skillous from Eleia after the Eleian War and given it to him should also be doubted.<sup>75</sup> Xenophon had returned to Greece with King Agesilaos after the outbreak of the Korinthian War in 395 BC, and was in Skillous by 392 when his friend Megabazos attended the Olympic festival.<sup>76</sup> Badian claims that Xenophon was not removed from Sparta to Skillous until 392 BC at the earliest, after his exile from Athens, which in his view was a consequence of his decision to remain resident at Sparta.<sup>77</sup> While Diogenes reports that Xenophon was condemned at Athens for his pro-Spartan attitude, Pausanias blames his exile on the offence which his support for the Persian rebel Kyros had caused to the king of Persia.<sup>78</sup> Green, however, presents a strong case for dating Xenophon's exile from Athens to 399 BC, as part of the same series of counter-oligarchic reprisals which included 'the exactly contemporaneous trials of Andocides and Socrates'.<sup>79</sup> Contrary to Badian's view, there is no obstacle to concluding that Xenophon arrived at Skillous in either 394 or 393 BC.<sup>80</sup>

Although we know from Pausanias that the Lakedaimonians gave Skillous to Xenophon, neither Xenophon himself nor any other source gives any clue as to how it came into Lakedaimonian hands. It is neither listed among the cities which went over to Agis in 401 BC nor mentioned among the places which the Eleian leader Thrasydaos offered to surrender under the peace terms.<sup>81</sup> The Lakedaimonians, nevertheless, must have acquired Skillous in some way, so perhaps it was captured by the forces under Agis when the neighbouring Makistians revolted from the Eleians in 401 BC. Xenophon's record of the Eleian War is far from complete, and we can only speculate as to why he made no mention of how Skillous fell into the hands of the Lakedaimonians, who had clearly decided 'to settle him in a territory to which their title was dubious'.<sup>82</sup> Perhaps, however, he wished to obscure the circumstances under which the Lakedaimonians had acquired the estate which they gave him and the reason why the additional estate which he purchased for Artemis was so affordable. Tuplin seems justified in postulating that 'Xenophon's cheap acquisition of large tracts of Scillountian land was the happy by-product of confiscation' and Ruggeri correct to conclude that the Lakedaimonians had 'land at their disposal which had earlier belonged to some Eleian proprietors, who lost it at the end of the war'.<sup>83</sup> It may well be, as Pausanias suggests, that the Lakedaimonians had taken possession of Skillous in its entirety.<sup>84</sup>

At first the Spartans had probably garrisoned this outpost just across the Alpheios from Olympia with their own forces, but handed it over to Xenophon soon after he returned to Greece during the Korinthian War.<sup>85</sup> It seems improbable, however, that a whole community would have been handed over to just one man, so perhaps Xenophon brought some companions with him. Once the survivors of the 10,000 Greeks who had taken part in the *anabasis* had returned to Greece, Xenophon had led them into service in Asia Minor as mercenaries with King Agesilaos, Agis' successor. Agesilaos returned to Greece after the defeat of Lysandros at Haliartos in 395, when a formidable alliance was formed to challenge the Spartan hegemony, bringing both Xenophon and the best of his



mercenaries back with him.<sup>86</sup> Many of these so-called *Kyreioi* had been wooed by other commanders, while others had drifted away, become ill, or even been sold into slavery. Six thousand of them, nevertheless, remained at the end of the *anabasis*, and a considerable proportion of these must have returned with Agesilaos and Xenophon to mainland Greece.<sup>87</sup> Since we know nothing of their subsequent fate, it is possible that the 'other citizens' whose sons hunted at Skillous with those of Xenophon included at least some of the *Kyreioi*. The Lakedaimonians, of course, would have been happy to provide them with a home just opposite Olympia and close to the probable political centre of the Triphylians at Makiston, where they could be trusted to keep an eye on the sanctuary and be readily available to oppose any revival on the part of the Eleian democrats and any attempt by the Eleians to recover the communities south of the Alpheios.<sup>88</sup> In settling the *Kyreioi* at Skillous, strategically located near the end of the road which led from Sparta to the new southern boundary of Eleian territory, the Spartan authorities would have been following the same strategy which had led them to establish the *Brasideioi* at Lepreon a quarter of a century earlier.<sup>89</sup>

The proposition that many of the *Kyreioi* settled at Skillous appears particularly plausible when we consider that Xenophon had once planned to establish for them a colony on the Black Sea coast.<sup>90</sup> The regular festival of Artemis which he initiated at Skillous may have been intended to provide the new community with a cultic focus.<sup>91</sup> The festivities were attended by two distinct groups: the citizens (οἱ πολῖται) of Skillous; and the local men and women (οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες).<sup>92</sup> Rather than residents of the neighbouring communities,<sup>93</sup> the latter may have been the poorer, disenfranchised remnant of an earlier population. The large gift of slaves which the Spartan Phylopidas sent to Xenophon at Skillous, on the other hand, may have been intended to provide him and the other citizens with a labour force akin to the Lakedaimonian Helots, so the non-citizens may have included the members of a newly imported subject class.<sup>94</sup>

If the Lakedaimonians, and King Agesilaos in particular, had decided to settle Xenophon and the remnants of the *Kyreioi* at Skillous between 395 and 392 BC, they would have done so at precisely the same time that an adjustment was made to the Eleian constitution, signified by Pausanias' notice of a change from nine to ten *hellanodikai* in 392.<sup>95</sup> Both this and the resettlement of Skillous would also have taken place during the Korinthian War, when the forces of the Lakedaimonians and their allies were fighting a powerful coalition in the north-east Peloponnese. In such a context, when at least some of the Eleians must have desired substantial constitutional change and have been sympathetic towards the enemies of the Lakedaimonians, the settlement of a highly experienced commander with his veteran mercenaries on the border of Eleian territory would have constituted an effective response to an urgent strategic need. It would also, while releasing Lakedaimonian troops for duty at the Isthmos, have enabled the Spartans to make good use of Xenophon's considerable military expertise without obliging him to engage in battle with his Athenian compatriots. The absence of the Skillountians from Xenophon's list of Lakedaimonian allies at the battle of Nemea in 494 BC, rather than suggesting that Skillous had been incorporated into Triphylia,<sup>96</sup> may



instead be attributed to the destruction of the community of the Skillountians and its replacement by a new colony of veteran mercenaries led by an experienced general whom the Lakedaimonians could count upon to secure their access to the altar of Zeus at Olympia and ensure that the Eleians were able neither to revive their democracy nor to re-establish their dominance over the district to the south of the Alpheios.

### **The Spartan hegemony**

Following the surrender of the Athenians in 404 BC, the Lakedaimonians, although with considerable difficulty, were able to dominate the Greek states for longer than three decades. They maintained this hegemony chiefly by two means: preventing the other Greeks from combining into larger political units and even, where possible, dividing them into smaller units; and enforcing, in the name of *autonomia*, the rule of narrow oligarchies dependent upon Spartan support to remain in power.<sup>97</sup> In the pursuit of these policies, they fought a succession of wars which together occupied much of this period. The political entities into which they divided Eleia in 400 BC, most likely all governed by oligarchic institutions,<sup>98</sup> regularly contributed contingents to Spartan-led armies and fleets.

In 405 BC, on the eve of the Lakedaimonian and allied victory over the Athenians, the Corinthians and Boiotians had taken a leading role in calling for the destruction of Athens.<sup>99</sup> By 404 BC, however, both peoples were harbouring refugees from the oligarchic regime which the Spartans had imposed upon the Athenians, and the exiled Athenian democrats had made their base in Boiotia.<sup>100</sup> In 403 both the Corinthians and Boiotians refused to join in a Lakedaimonian and allied invasion of Attika led by King Pausanias.<sup>101</sup> In 402 BC, after King Agis had temporarily withdrawn from Eleia, the Eleians sent embassies to the *poleis* they knew were hostile towards the Lakedaimonians, and the Corinthians and Boiotians, explaining that they were unable to endure what the Lakedaimonians were doing, took no part in the invasion of Eleia led by Pausanias in the following year.<sup>102</sup> By 396 BC, both the Boiotians and Corinthians were still absent from Spartan-led campaigns.<sup>103</sup> In 395, when open hostilities broke out between the Lakedaimonians and the Boiotians, who were supported by the revived Athenian democracy, the Corinthians refused to contribute to a Peloponnesian army,<sup>104</sup> and towards the end of that year the Corinthians, Boiotians, Athenians and Argives formed an alliance for the purpose of overthrowing the Spartan hegemony.<sup>105</sup>

The Eleians, Triphylians, Akroreians and Lasionians between them contributed almost 3,000 hoplites and the Marganeians, Letrinians and Amphidolians about 400 slingers to the Lakedaimonian and allied army which defeated the Corinthians and their allies at Nemea in 394 BC.<sup>106</sup> Xenophon's separate mention of these peoples signifies that they were now individually enrolled as allies of the Lakedaimonians. Perhaps they had already been among the Peloponnesians who fought in Asia under the Spartans Thibron, Derkylidas and King Agesilaos from 399 to 395 BC.<sup>107</sup> Even though not specifically mentioned, they probably also took

part in the fighting around the Isthmos and further afield during the remainder of the Corinthian War, which lasted until 387/386 BC, when the Persian arbitration known as 'the king's peace' re-established Sparta as the dominant power in Greece.<sup>108</sup> The Eleians appear to have remained allies of the Lakedaimonians for quite some time to come, since when in 377/376 BC King Agesilaos divided the Lakedaimonian and allied army assembled for his campaign in Asia into ten divisions, the Eleians comprised one of these.<sup>109</sup> In 373 BC they contributed to an allied fleet of 60 ships which sailed for Kerkyra under the Spartan admiral Mnasippos to oppose the Athenians.<sup>110</sup>

In 371 BC, the dominance of the Lakedaimonians over the Eleians and many other Greek peoples suffered a severe setback when, led by King Kleombrotos, they were crushingly defeated at the hands of the Boiotians at Leuktra.<sup>111</sup> The Athenians and their allies had already concluded a peace agreement with the Lakedaimonians in that year on the understanding that the Greek *poleis* would all be *autonomoi*, and the Theban delegates had sworn to the agreement along with the others. The Thebans had soon realised, however, that this implied that the other Boiotian cities would become independent, and so demanded that the relevant document be changed to record that 'the Boiotians' rather than 'the Thebans' had sworn. When this was refused, they withdrew from the peace.<sup>112</sup> It was as a consequence of their attempt soon afterwards to force the Boiotians to comply with this provision of the peace that the Lakedaimonians suffered the disastrous defeat at Leuktra.<sup>113</sup> Xenophon remarks in his account of this battle that even certain of the allies of the Lakedaimonians were not unhappy about the result,<sup>114</sup> and it would be surprising if at least some of the Eleians were not among them.

The Spartan ephors reacted to the defeat at Leuktra by sending an army under the command of Arkhidamos, the son of King Agesilaos, against the Boiotians. In his march northward, Arkhidamos was joined by contingents from the Tegeans, Mantineians, Corinthians, Sikyonians, Phleiasians, Akhaians and unnamed other *poleis*. As it was returning home, the Lakedaimonian and allied army defeated at Leuktra met up at Megara with this north-bound army of Arkhidamos, who then led the combined forces back to Korinth, dismissed the allies and took the Spartans home.<sup>115</sup> Immediately after the battle the Boiotians asked for help from the Athenians, but the latter were unwilling to offer any assistance.<sup>116</sup> Instead, the Athenians invited representatives from all of the *poleis* which wanted to participate in the peace agreement to come to Athens. Xenophon reports that 'all the others were pleased with the [proposed] oath, except for the Eleians, on the grounds that it was not right to make the Marganeians, Skillountians and Triphylians *autonomoi*, since these *poleis* were theirs.' The assembled delegates, nevertheless, voted in favour of the terms which the Persian king had laid down (that 'the *poleis*, large and small alike, were *autonomoi*'), and the Athenians sent out officials to administer the oath. All did so except the Eleians, who in this way placed themselves in the Boiotian camp, opposing both the Athenians and the Lakedaimonians.<sup>117</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Paus. 5.9.4; this volume, pp. 75, 98.
- 2 Paus. 5.9.5. The manuscript of Pausanias assigns Ol. 25 to this reform, but must be corrupt because the change to two *hellanodikai* in Ol. 50 precedes it. Müller suggested Ol. 75, but Boeckh's emendation to Ol. 95, supported by Kahrstedt 1928, 157–9, favoured by Jacoby *FGrH* IIIb, 233–4 and adopted by the Loeb, Budé and Teubner editions, is accepted here: Jones 1987, 143, 152 n.3; cf. Gehrke 1985, 366.
- 3 Paus. 5.9.5. Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 113 makes the final number ten, which might seem to suggest that this number was adopted earlier than 392 BC. Jacoby *FGrH* IIIb, 234 suspects that the source of this fragment, a scholion to Pindar, is corrupt, but Hellanikos may have lived a little longer than generally thought, so the fragment might accurately reflect the number chosen at the time when he wrote.
- 4 Arist. *Pol.* 5.5.8, 1306a.15–19.
- 5 Swoboda 1905, 2423; Andrewes 1970, 60; O'Neil 1974, 81–2; Rice 1975, 17; Moggi 1976, 161; Gehrke 1985, 52; 1986, 36; Jones 1987, 143; Demand 1990, 64.
- 6 This volume, pp. 29–30, 88–92.
- 7 Paus. 5.16.5–6; this volume, pp. 81, 88–92.
- 8 Arist. *Pol.* 5.8.10, 1311b.2–3; Rackham 1944, xviii; cf. Robinson 2011, 32, who allocates the reform of this constitution to the mid-fourth century.
- 9 Busolt 1878, 181–2 also connects these two pieces of evidence, but following Müller's emendation of Pausanias 5.9.5 to indicate Ol. 75 rather than Ol. 95 dates the reforms to 480 BC: this chapter, n.2.
- 10 Gehrke 1985, 365–6.
- 11 This volume, pp. 164–5.
- 12 Arist. *Pol.* 5.5.8, 1306a.14–16.
- 13 Plut. *Mor.* 805D; 1126C–D. Plato himself is said to have refused the invitation of the Arkadians and Thebans to formulate the laws for the new city of Megalopolis, established soon after 371 BC: Diog. Laert. 3.23; cf. Aelian 2.42.
- 14 Cf. Robinson 2011, 32.
- 15 Plut. *Mor.* 1126C–D; *contra* Gehrke 1985, 56.
- 16 Paus. 5.9.5; Plut. *Mor.* 805D; Robinson 2011, 32; this volume, pp. 197–202.
- 17 Paus. 5.9.5; Plut. *Mor.* 805D; this volume, pp. 193–4.
- 18 Paus. 5.9.5.
- 19 Dušanić 1991, 81–5.
- 20 This volume, p. 190.
- 21 Paus. 5.9.5. On the possibility that Phormion was active by then, Dušanić 1991, 85 with n.35.
- 22 This volume, pp. 180–1.
- 23 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.23.
- 24 Minon 28, 29.
- 25 Polyb. 4.77.8; Strabo 8.3.22; Siewert 1987–8; Tuplin 1993, 184; Nielsen 1997, 131, 155.
- 26 Nielsen 1997, 148–50; Ruggeri 2004a, 75–7.
- 27 Hdt. 4.148.4; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30; Polyb. 4.77.9; *SEG* 35.389; cf. Siewert 1987–1988, 9; Tuplin 1993, 184; Nielsen 1997, 134, 149–51; Ruggeri 2004a, 109–11. Pyrgos, if this was indeed the name of the settlement near the Archaic temple at Prasiḗaki, may already have become a possession of the Lepreans: Strabo 8.3.30; Rohn and Heiden 2009, 350–1; cf. Nielsen 2004, 542 n.6, 541–2, 545.
- 28 Hdt. 4.148.4; Strabo 8.3.16–18; cf. Nielsen 1997, 134–6. Ruggeri 2004a, 116–19 points out that some of the many archaeological remains in this district may belong to those communities.
- 29 Strabo 8.3.3, cf. 3.2.
- 30 Ruggeri 2004a, 96–102.
- 31 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, cf. 4.2.16; Siewert 1987–1988, 11–12.

- 32 Nielsen 1997, 129, 145; cf. Ruggeri 2004a, 69–70; Roy 2012, 140.
- 33 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 160; cf. Paus. 10.9.5; Tuplin 1993, 183; Nielsen 1997, 151–2; Ruggeri 2004a, 72, 95 n.251; Roy 2014, 248.
- 34 *Xen. Hell.* 7.1.26; Nielsen 1997, 152–7; cf. Ruggeri 2004a, 79.
- 35 Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 69.
- 36 This volume, pp. 187–9, 191.
- 37 Nielsen 1997, 148–9; *SEG* 40.392; cf. Ruggeri 2004a, 73 and n.161, 75, 133–40.
- 38 Nielsen 1997, 149, 157; *SEG* 35.389; cf. 30.422; Ruggeri 2004a, 73 and n.160, 133–40.
- 39 Ruggeri 2004a, 138.
- 40 *Xen. Hell.* 3.2.30; 4.2.16; *Diod.* 14.17.8.
- 41 Minon 45 = *IvO* 258; Siewert 1991, 81.3.
- 42 This volume, pp. 89–90.
- 43 Ruggeri 2004a, 144–55.
- 44 Ruggeri 2004a, 156.
- 45 Strabo 8.3.10; Ruggeri 2004a, 156; cf. Siewert 1991, 81.3; Roy 2004, 493.
- 46 *NIO* 11a; cf. Siewert 1994, 262–4; Ringel *et al.* 1999, 413–20. *Diod.* 15.78.1–2 attests to an alliance of the Arkadians and Pisatans Ol. 104 (364–361 BC) during the Eleian–Arkadian War.
- 47 Ruggeri 2004a, 159.
- 48 Ringel *et al.* 1999, 417.
- 49 Ruggeri 2004a, 160.
- 50 *Xen. Hell.* 7.4.14; this volume, p. 193.
- 51 *Diod.* 14.17.8; Ruggeri 2004a, 162, 164; this volume, pp. 158, 161–2.
- 52 *Xen. Hell.* 4.2.16.
- 53 *Xen. Hell.* 7.4.12; Ruggeri 2004a, 167.
- 54 *Thuc.* 2.25.3; *Xen. Hell.* 3.2.30; 4.2.16; 6.5.2; Nielsen 1997, 138; Ruggeri 2004a, 170–2; this volume, pp. 160–1.
- 55 *Xen. Hell.* 4.2.16; Ruggeri 2004a, 169.
- 56 *Xen. Hell.* 7.4.14, 26. The toponym was also Margana: *Diod.* 15.77.4; Roy 2004, 500.
- 57 *Xen. Hell.* 3.2.23; *Diod.* 14.17.5–6; Paus. 3.8.3; this volume, pp. 151–6.
- 58 *Diod.* 14.34.1; Paus. 3.8.5.
- 59 *Xen. Hell.* 3.2.31.
- 60 This volume, p. 80.
- 61 This volume, p. 194.
- 62 This volume, pp. 151–6.
- 63 This volume, pp. 171–2.
- 64 This volume, p. 32.
- 65 *Xen. Anab.* 5.3.11; Paus. 5.5.3, 6.1, 4, 7, 7.1; this volume, pp. 6, 8, 112, 161.
- 66 Paus. 5.6.4, 16.1, 22.4.
- 67 *Hdt.* 4.148.4; *Xen. Hell.* 6.5.2; *Polyb.* 6.77.9; cf. Ruggeri 2004a, 111. The belief of Nielsen 1997, 133, 138–9 that Skillous became a part of the Triphylian state seems to follow from his assumption that this state incorporated all the inhabitants of the district known to Pausanias. Tuplin 1993, 184 conjectures that Xenophon mistakenly recorded Skillous separately because he knew it was to return to the Eleians in the 360s, but since he lived in Skillous for almost the entire period in which Tuplin believes it was part of Triphyly, Xenophon is unlikely to have made such an error.
- 68 *Xen. Anab.* 5.3.7–9; *Diog. Laert.* 2.51–2; Strabo 8.7.5; Paus. 5.6.5–6.
- 69 *Xen. Anab.* 5.3.10; *Diog. Laert.* 2.51; Ruggeri 2004a, 130–2; 2004b, 463–6; Sordi 2004, 75; *contra* Badian 2004, 42.
- 70 Paus. 5.6.6.
- 71 *Diog. Laert.* 2.53, 56.
- 72 Badian 2004, 38, 45–6.
- 73 Pretzler 2005, 239.
- 74 Minchin 2016, 255–75.

- 75 Paus. 5.6.5; *contra* Tuplin 2004, 271.
- 76 Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.2–5; cf. Tuplin 2004, 252; Green, 1994, 217 and n.5. Ruggeri 2004a, 122–5, cf. 2004b, 452, 455 proposes a later chronology.
- 77 Badian 2004, 42.
- 78 Diog. Laert. 2.51; Paus. 5.6.5–6; cf. Sordi 2004, 72.
- 79 Green 1994, 226, cf. 215–27.
- 80 Cf. Dreher 2004, 64, who places both Xenophon's banishment from Athens and his settlement at Skillous in 395–393 BC.
- 81 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 30.
- 82 Badian 2004, 43.
- 83 Tuplin 2004, 266; Ruggeri 2004a, 120, cf. 127; 2004b, 458.
- 84 Paus. 5.6.5.
- 85 Ruggeri 2004a, 112, 120, 122, 127.
- 86 Diog. Laert. 2.51; Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.1–8, cf. 3.5.1–25.
- 87 Xen. *Anab.* 7.7.23; cf. 3.2.7, 4.20; Dillery 1995, 90–1.
- 88 Cf. Ruggeri 2004a, 120–2.
- 89 Thuc. 5.34.1; Tuplin 2004, 266; Ruggeri 2004a, 120–2; 2004b, 459–61; this volume, pp. 133–5, 137.
- 90 Xen. *Anab.* 5.6.15–16; 6.4.7, 14, 6.4; Ruggeri 2004a, 127–8; 2004b, 461; Dillery 1995, 85–90.
- 91 Ruggeri 2004a, 127–8; 2004b, 461; cf. Tuplin 2004, 267.
- 92 Xen. *Anab.* 5.3.9.
- 93 Tuplin 2004, 265.
- 94 Diog. Laert. 2.53; Tuplin 2004, 266.
- 95 This volume, p. 171. On the likely role of Agesilaos, Ruggeri 2004b, 457.
- 96 Ruggeri 2004a, 112.
- 97 Cf. Cartledge 1987, 242–73, 347–81.
- 98 This volume, pp. 171–6.
- 99 Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.20; 6.5.36; Plut. *Lys.* 15.2.
- 100 Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.1–7; *Hell. Oxy.* 17.1; Aiskhines 2.148, cf. 78; Plut. *Lys.* 27.2; *Pelop.* 6.4; Salmon 1984, 342.
- 101 Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.30, 5.5.
- 102 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.24–5; Diod. 14.17.7.
- 103 Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.5; Paus. 3.9.1–2; Salmon 1984, 342.
- 104 Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.16–17; Diod. 14.81.2; *Hell. Oxy.* 18.15.
- 105 Diod. 14.82.1–2; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.1, 17; *Ages.* 2.6; *Hell. Oxy.* 7.2–5.
- 106 Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16.
- 107 Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.4–2.20, 4.1–29; 4.1.1–2.8; *Ages.* 1.6–35; *Hell. Oxy.* 9.3, 11.3–13.1, 21.1–22.4; Diod. 14.36.1–4, 38.2–39.6, 79.1–80.8, 81.4–6, 83.1–3; Plut. *Lys.* 23.1–24.1 *Ages.* 6.1–15.1.
- 108 Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.1–5.1.36; *Ages.* 2.1–21; *Hell. Oxy.* 6.1–9.3, 19.1–20.6; Diod. 14.83.3–86.6, 91.2–92.2, 94.2–4, 97.1–5, 99.1–5, 110.2–4; Plut. *Ages.* 17.1–23.3.
- 109 Diod. 15.31.2.
- 110 Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3–26, 31; Diod. 15.47.1–6.
- 111 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.1–15; *Ages.* 2.23–4; Isok. 8.100; Arist. *Pol.* 2.1270a.33–4; Diod. 15.51.1–56.4; Plut. *Ages.* 28.5–29.5; *Pelop.* 20.1–23.4.
- 112 Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.18–20; cf. Plut. *Ages.* 28.3.
- 113 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.2–3.
- 114 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.15, cf. 24.
- 115 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.25–6; Diod. 15.56.4.
- 116 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.19–20, cf. 3.20.
- 117 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.1–3.

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## 10 The middle fourth century BC

### The impact of the battle of Leuktra

The reason given by the Eleians for refusing to swear to the peace agreed after Leuktra, that 'it was not right to make the Marganeians, Skillountians and Triphylians *autonomoi*, since these *poleis* were theirs',<sup>1</sup> raises the question of when they regained the territories lost at the end of the Eleian War in 400 BC. It is possible that their refusal reflects a concern that the peace 'would have meant a formal recognition of the loss of Triphylia, among others',<sup>2</sup> but they may rather have been thinking of more recent events. Even though their contributions to Peloponnesian forces were usually at least as significant as those of some of the peoples Xenophon specifically mentions, they are not listed among the Peloponnesians who marched northwards with Arkhidamos following the Spartan defeat at Leuktra.<sup>3</sup> Only the Lakedaimonians, Corinthians and Sikyonians seem to have provided ships at this time, too, even though the Eleians had contributed to a Peloponnesian fleet just two years earlier.<sup>4</sup> Their apparent failure to provide either men or ships to these forces suggests that the Eleians had broken away from their Lakedaimonian allegiance immediately upon hearing the news of Leuktra.

Diogenes Laertios reports that the Eleians were able to recapture Skillous because the Lakedaimonians were too slow to prevent it.<sup>5</sup> The period immediately following Leuktra, when the Spartans could raise no more forces than the reserves they had already sent northwards under Arkhidamos, provides a context in which they would have been unable to prevent the Eleians from retaking Skillous. At the time of the recovery of Skillous, Diogenes also reports, Xenophon happened to be in Elis. His sons were still in Skillous, but once it had been lost retired with just few household slaves to Lepreon, where they were joined by their father. The family moved from Lepreon to Korinth, and Xenophon sent his sons to serve in the army of the Athenians, who had just become allies of the Lakedaimonians.<sup>6</sup> Although the peace between the Athenians and the Lakedaimonians was made immediately before Leuktra and reaffirmed soon afterwards, the two *poleis* did not become allies until near the end of 370 BC.<sup>7</sup> Diogenes' report thus suggests a narrow time frame for the Eleian retrieval of Skillous, which must have occurred after Leuktra, fought in the summer of 371 BC, but at some time before the swearing of the alliance between the Athenians and Lakedaimonians late in 370. It may easily have occurred between the battle of Leuktra and the peace conference in Athens which followed it.

The Lakedaimonians seem to have established Xenophon and his companions at Skillous, which occupied a strong position on the left bank of the Alpheios opposite Olympia and commanded a strategic ford, in order to help ensure that the sanctuary remained open to them, monitor political events among the Eleians and oppose any attempt on the part of the latter to regain the communities south of the river.<sup>8</sup> The Eleian recapture of Skillous would thus have been a necessary prelude to the recovery of the communities which constituted the Triphylian state. With the fall of Skillous, Xenophon's sons took refuge not among the nearby Makistians, but in Lepreon,<sup>9</sup> so it is likely that the Eleians also succeeded at this time in recovering Makiston and perhaps some of the other places in Triphylia. The Eleian mention of the Marganeians as well as the Skillountians and Triphylians at the peace conference in Athens suggests that they had also regained Marganeis, and since Xenophon generally mentions the Amphidolians and Letrinians together with the Marganeians, he may have meant their name to stand for all three perioikic communities.<sup>10</sup> By late 371 BC, when the Eleians argued at Athens that 'it was not right to make the Marganeians, Skillountians and Triphylians *autonomoi*', it thus seems, these communities, apart from the Lepreans and some of the other Triphylian cities south of the Alpheios, had already been regained.<sup>11</sup> It is likely that the Spartans insisted that the terms of the peace agreed in Athens implied that these communities should become *autonomoi* once again and that the Eleians responded by declining to swear to the peace and keeping them.

In 368 BC, on the other hand, the Eleians would demand of their Arkadian allies the return of the *poleis* which they had been deprived of by the Lakedaimonians in 400 BC and would also become annoyed that the Arkadians were doing everything for the Triphylians and the others who had revolted from them,<sup>12</sup> so they cannot have regained all their former *perioikoi* and allies in the wake of Leuktra. Lepreon, at least for a time, remained safe for the likes of Xenophon and his sons,<sup>13</sup> and the Lepreans seem briefly to have remained allies of the Lakedaimonians, since they joined in their campaign against Mantinea in 370 BC.<sup>14</sup> At the peace conference in Athens, too, the Eleians included neither the Akroreians nor the Lasionians among those whom they believed would unfairly be considered *autonomoi*. When in 368 they on the one hand demanded the return of the *poleis* of which the Lakedaimonians had deprived them and, on the other, complained that the Arkadians were doing everything for the Triphylians and 'the others' who had revolted from them, the former most likely consisted of the *perioikic* Akroreians and the latter (along with the Lasionian 'others') those communities of the Triphylian federation which had not been retrieved after Leuktra.<sup>15</sup>

The Arkadians had to capture the Akroreian *poleis* in 365 BC, so they did not control them in 368 and may simply have been refusing to support an Eleian claim to them.<sup>16</sup> The inscription from Delphi dated to 369 BC in which Triphylos is the son of the Arkadian *eponym* Arkas suggests, on the other hand, that the Arkadian identity of the particular Triphylians whom the Eleians were concerned about in 368 was already being proclaimed.<sup>17</sup> In an Arkadian League honorary decree dated 369–367 BC, nevertheless, we see certain 'Lepreans' rather than 'Triphylians' named among the *damiorgoi* of the various League members.<sup>18</sup> As a consequence

of the loss of Makiston and perhaps other cities between the Alpheios and Mount Lapithas, the Lepreans seem to have come to constitute the bulk of the Triphylians. Since this decree 'does not present us with a complete list of the federal members',<sup>19</sup> however, other Triphylian communities may have joined the Arkadian League separately, as is also suggested by Polybios' list of places in Triphylia which the Eleians seem not to have regained until the mid-third century BC.<sup>20</sup> It was probably this diminished and fragmented Triphylia whose constituent communities, along with the Lasionians, were incorporated individually into the Arkadian League.

The reclaiming of Skillous, Makiston and perhaps some other 'Triphylian' cities after Leuktra seems to have been accompanied by a change of regime among the Eleians, as generally occurred in communities which left the Lakedaimonian alliance in this period.<sup>21</sup> The Eleian *hellanodikai*, as well as acting as judges of the Olympic competitions, were among the most significant magistrates of the Eleians, and the changes in their number recorded by Pausanias may be taken as indicators of constitutional developments. In 400 BC the Lakedaimonians appear to have instituted among the Eleians a narrow oligarchy which included a Council of Ninety and a board of nine *hellanodikai*, an arrangement which was only slightly modified with the change to ten *hellanodikai* by 392.<sup>22</sup> The next change in the number of *hellanodikai*, when one came from each of the twelve tribes, was carried out in time for the 103rd Olympiad, held in 368 BC, and may thus have occurred soon after the battle of Leuktra. At Phleious in 370 or 369 BC the Eleians, in company with the Arkadians and Argives, supported the democratic exiles against the oligarchs,<sup>23</sup> so a shift in political orientation seems already to have taken place by this time.

The provisions of the peace of 371 BC were open to differing interpretations. The military might of the Spartans had enabled them to dominate the Arkadian *poleis*, and at the time of Leuktra both Tegea and Mantinea were ruled by oligarchies: in Tegea by the pro-Spartan party of Stasippos; and in Mantinea by village aristocracies.<sup>24</sup> The Mantineians had been reluctant allies of the Lakedaimonians since at least the early years of the Korinthian War, and once that war was over the latter had ordered them to dismantle their fortifications. When they refused, the Spartans had sent an army under King Agesipolis, who expelled the democratic leaders and compelled the Mantineians to demolish their walls, abandon their city and live in four separate villages under aristocratic governments. The Mantineian landowners, Xenophon reports, had been quite pleased with this outcome.<sup>25</sup> After Leuktra, however, the Mantineians, assuming that the peace terms had left them the freedom to live as they pleased and now that the Lakedaimonians would have found it difficult to prevent them from doing so, decided to rebuild their city and fortify it, ignoring Agesilaos' attempt to dissuade them. Such a decision can only have been made after the aristocracies in their villages had been overthrown, and it is likely that Mantinea became democratic at this time. Some of the other Arkadian communities sent men to Mantinea to help in the work of reconstruction and fortification, and the Eleians contributed three talents.<sup>26</sup> In Tegea, meanwhile, a party in favour of forming a league of all the Arkadians was engaged in civil strife with the followers of the

pro-Spartan Stasippos, friends and *xenoi* of Agesilaos who preferred to keep to 'the laws of their fathers' (τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις), clearly aristocratic ones. With Mantineian help, the pan-Arkadians were victorious, killing many members of Stasippos' faction, and an Arkadian League was formed. Eight hundred Tegean oligarchs took refuge in Sparta, and Agesilaos led a Lakedaimonian army against Mantineia.<sup>27</sup> These events suggest that the new League was formed by democrats, a conclusion supported by what we know of its institutions and by the text of the alliance of the Arkadians with the Pisatans and Akroreians in 364 BC.<sup>28</sup>

In the period following the significant Lakedaimonian defeat at Leuktra, when the Mantineians and Tegeans overthrew their pro-Spartan oligarchies, the Eleians helped finance the restoration and fortification of Mantineia. Because of this realignment of Eleian foreign policy in favour of democratic states, it is highly likely that the reforms instituted by 368 BC established a more popular constitution in Elis.<sup>29</sup> This new constitution, however, probably introduced by Plato's companion Phormion, is unlikely to have been an actual democracy.<sup>30</sup> When the Boiotians, Arkadians and Eleians sent an embassy to the king of Persia in 367 BC, the Eleian ambassador was Arkhidamos, perhaps to be identified with Arkhedamos, the son of the pro-Spartan oligarch Xenias. A certain Argeios, a leader of the Eleian democrats, on the other hand, accompanied Arkhidamos, possibly to ensure that the interests of both factions were considered.<sup>31</sup> The identification of Arkhidamos with the son of Xenias must remain uncertain,<sup>32</sup> but Xenophon, discussing the political situation in Elis before 365 BC, can name three democratic leaders, Kharopos, Thrasonidas and (the same) Argeios, and three oligarchs, Eualkas, Hippias and Stratolas. Although explaining that these factions were in conflict over the constitution by that time, he does not suggest that either was dominant.<sup>33</sup> The Eleians after Leuktra thus appear to have introduced a *politeia* in which both democrats and oligarchs could compete for office and influence policy.<sup>34</sup>

As Agesilaos led his army into Arkadia in 370 BC, the Arkadians gathered together in Mantineia. There they were joined by the Eleians, who persuaded them not to fight until the Boiotians arrived. The Arkadians, Argives and Eleians had at first approached the Athenians for assistance, but when they refused turned to the Boiotians, and the Eleians now explained that they were sure the Boiotians would come because they had lent them ten talents to cover their expenses.<sup>35</sup> After a time Agesilaos, assuming that the campaigning season was over, led his army home and disbanded it. When the Boiotians and their northern allies arrived in Mantineia, however, the Eleians, along with the Arkadians and Argives, urged them to invade Lakonia.<sup>36</sup> As the allies descended into the valley of the Eurotas in four columns, the Eleians, whose force included some cavalry, managed to meet up with the others at Sellasia unopposed.<sup>37</sup> The reunited allies, joined by some of the Lakedaimonian *perioikoi*, then marched deeper into Lakonia, plundering and ravaging the land as they went.<sup>38</sup> Before leaving Lakedaimonian territory, they also established and garrisoned the city of Messene and made the Messenians independent.<sup>39</sup> After a while, however, many of the Arkadians, Argives and Eleians began to drift homeward with their plunder, and the Boiotian and allied army also returned to the north.<sup>40</sup>

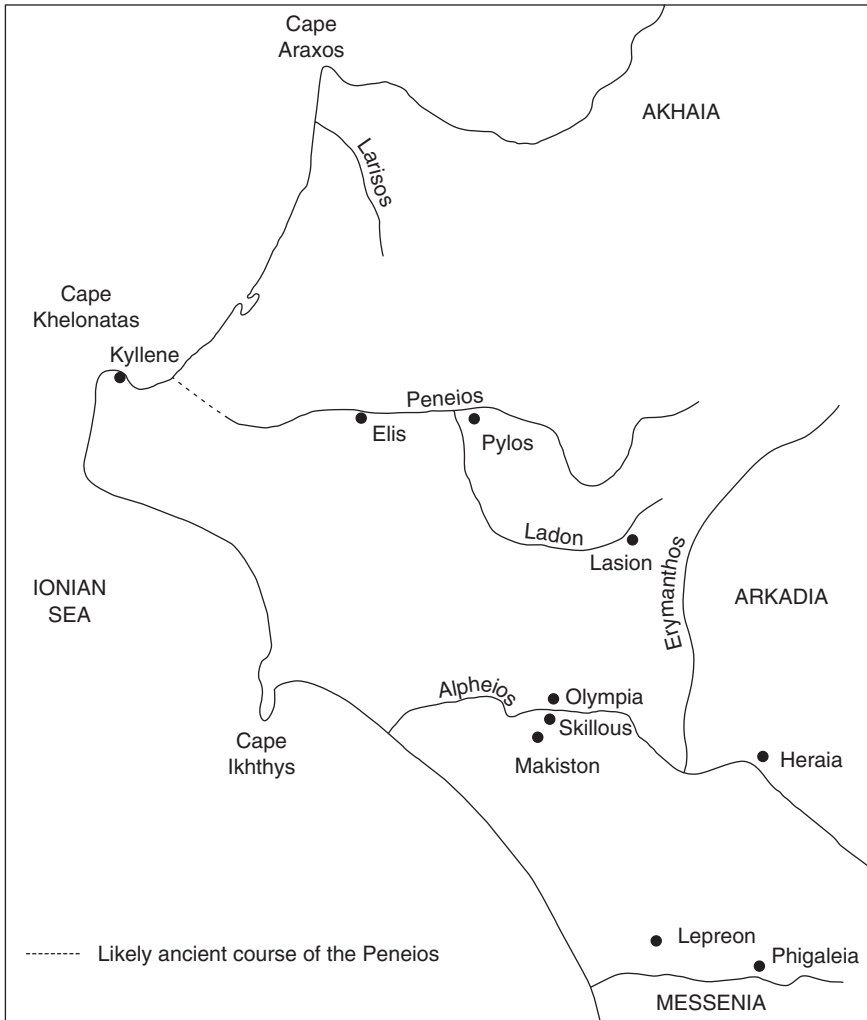
During this Boiotian invasion of the Peloponnese the Spartans had convinced the Athenians to become their allies, and an Athenian army had briefly appeared near Korinth.<sup>41</sup> Once the Boiotians returned home, the Athenians and Spartans formalised their alliance.<sup>42</sup> In 369 BC the Arkadians, Argives and Eleians persuaded the Boiotians to join them in continuing the war against the Lakedaimonians, and a Boiotian and allied army again prepared to invade the Peloponnese. Despite an attempt by the Athenians and the Lakedaimonians and their allies to prevent them, the Boiotians passed through the Isthmos and joined up with their Peloponnesian allies, but were unable to capture Korinth and returned home.<sup>43</sup>

### The war between the Eleians and the Arkadians

As we have seen, in 368 BC the Eleians demanded the return of the remaining *poleis* which they had lost as a result of the Eleian War in 400 BC and expressed their annoyance at what the Arkadians were doing in relation to the Triphylians and the others who had revolted from them, who claimed to be Arkadians.<sup>44</sup> During the invasion of Lakonia in 370 BC, the Lepreans had joined the Lakedaimonians against the Arkadian League and its allies, who included the Eleians,<sup>45</sup> but they soon changed sides. One consequence of the foundation of Messene late in 370 was that Lepreatis, which had until then bordered on territory controlled by the Spartans, now adjoined that of their enemies, the Messenians. The Lakedaimonians would thus have found it difficult to prevent the Lepreans from turning to democracy. If the Lepreans had indeed changed their constitution, the democratic Arkadian League would have been more appealing to them than the middling Eleian *politeia* of the time. As a consequence of Leuktra the Eleians seem to have regained the allegiance of the Eleian-speaking 'Triphylians' of Makiston and perhaps other communities to the north of Mount Lapithas. It would thus have been easier for the remaining Triphylians, that is, the Lepreans and the members of various communities around Lapithas, whose speech differed from Eleian,<sup>46</sup> to represent themselves as Arkadian. Not long after the Boiotian invasion of the Peloponnese in 369, the Arkadians were thus able to incorporate the Lepreans and others into their League in the face of Eleian claims.<sup>47</sup>

At around the same time, most likely in 368, the Arkadians built a capital city for their League, Megalopolis. This new city in south-western Arkadia was well situated for protecting both Messenia and Arkadia from the Lakedaimonians,<sup>48</sup> and it also dominated the main route between Sparta and Olympia. In addition, it was conveniently located for both preventing any Lakedaimonian attempt to exercise political influence in Lepreon and, since a path led from Megalopolis via Lykosoura to Phigaleia on the middle Neda,<sup>49</sup> facilitating communications between the Lepreans and Arkadians. Because of this intrusion into what they claimed as their own domain, it seems, the Eleians began to feel hostile towards the Arkadians, and after the 'tearless battle', when the Lakedaimonians inflicted heavy losses on an Arkadian and Argive force near Megalopolis but no Spartan died, the Boiotians and Eleians were almost as pleased as the victors.<sup>50</sup>

By 367 BC the Boiotians, Arkadians and Eleians had all defied the provision in the peace of 371 that the Greek states should be *autonomoi*, which had sought to prevent the formation of regional political units. These peoples now sent ambassadors to the court of the king of Persia, where a Spartan envoy was already active, and the Athenians responded by sending their own ambassadors. The Boiotians and Eleians were happiest with the outcome of the ensuing discussions, since the king favoured a peace under the leadership of the Boiotians, and the Eleians may have been promised the return of the remaining territories lost in 400 BC. The Boiotians called representatives from all of the Greek cities to Thebes, but their



Map 10.1 The Eleian–Arkadian War. Created by the author.

delegates refused to swear to the proposed agreement, and warfare continued in the Peloponnese and elsewhere in Greece.<sup>51</sup> In 366/365 BC, nevertheless, the alignment of the Greek states shifted. The Athenians, unhappy about the lack of support from the Lakadaimonians, Korinthians and their other allies in their conflicts with the Boiotians, became allies of the Arkadians instead. The Korinthians and others made peace with the Boiotians, but the Lakadaimonians decided to continue the struggle to regain their former position.<sup>52</sup>

In 365 BC, according to Diodoros, a group of Arkadian exiles set out from Elis and captured the stronghold of Lasion (Map 10.1).<sup>53</sup> This place had been an Eleian possession up to the end of the Eleian War, when it became independent, even though the Arkadians had claimed it.<sup>54</sup> It must still have been independent in 394 BC, when a separate Lasionian contingent fought at Nemea, and probably remained so long afterwards, but by 368 the Arkadians had incorporated it into their League.<sup>55</sup> The Arkadian exiles who seized Lasion in 365, since the League they had left was democratic, were most likely oligarchs. By combining elements from both Diodoros and Xenophon, we can deduce that the Arkadian oligarchic exiles had captured Lasion and, coming under pressure from their opponents in the Arkadian League, were reinforced by certain of the Eleians. These Eleians included two elite companies known as 'the three hundred' and 'the four hundred', of whom the three hundred, at least, were clearly oligarchic in inclination.<sup>56</sup> The Arkadians, reinforced by their new Athenian allies, inflicted heavy losses on the Eleians at Lasion and followed up their success by capturing three out of the four Akroreian cities.<sup>57</sup> Proceeding down to Olympia, they fortified the hill of Kronos and then moved into the higher country north of the Alpheios valley, where Marganeis, now in Eleian hands, was betrayed to them from within,<sup>58</sup> most likely by the local democrats. The Arkadians then advanced on the city of Elis, reaching as far as the *agora*, but were driven out. In this action, as Xenophon's report makes clear, the oligarchically inclined Eleian cavalry played the leading role.<sup>59</sup>

Xenophon's description of the political situation in Elis during the period preceding the Arkadian invasion illustrates the extent to which rivalry between the adherents of opposing political ideals constituted the underlying cause of the conflicts he describes involving the citizens of various states. As noted above, the Eleian constitution after Leuktra appears to have been a kind of *politeia* in which both democrats and oligarchs could compete for office and influence policy.<sup>60</sup> By 365 BC, however, the two parties were in conflict over the constitution and, working with the Arkadians, the democrats seized the akropolis. The cavalry and the three hundred, nevertheless, soon drove them out, and 400 of the democrats, including Kharopos and Argeios, went into exile.<sup>61</sup> These exiles, assisted by the Arkadians, then took over Pylos, which lay at a strategic location on the road leading from Elis into north-western Arkadia via Lasion. There they were joined by more democrats from the city, which, as a result, the oligarchs now completely controlled.<sup>62</sup> The Arkadians left Eleia for a time, but later returned, convinced by the exiled democrats that the city of Elis would go over to them. Certain Akhaians, however, whose cities were ruled by aristocracies and who had become the allies of the Lakadaimonians



and the enemies of the Arkadians, prevented them from gaining control of Elis, perhaps by assisting the cavalry and other elite forces of the Eleians to keep the *damoi* under control, and the Arkadians again left Eleia.<sup>63</sup> Realising that the Akhaians of Pellene were still in Elis, they marched overnight and captured their town of Oluros, so the Pellenians were obliged to return home to both besiege the Arkadian garrison in Oluros and make war on their own democrats.

The Arkadians then invaded Eleia for a third time and camped between the city and Kyllene. The Eleians attacked them, but were defeated and, after their cavalry commander had committed suicide, returned to Elis.<sup>64</sup> Only at this point does Xenophon reveal that a Spartiate called Sokleides had been killed in the battle and that the Eleians had become allies of the Lakedaimonians. He does not say how long this had been the case, but the alliance was probably made at the time when the Eleian oligarchs drove the democrats from the akropolis and thus gained sole control over the city.<sup>65</sup> After their defeat in the plain of the Peneios, the Eleians asked the Lakedaimonians to march against the Arkadians, and they responded by capturing and occupying the Arkadian town of Kromnos. While the Arkadians were engaged in opposing the Spartans there, the Eleians in the city marched upstream along the Peneios to attack the democrats in Pylos. On their way, they came across a group of these 'Pylions', and the Eleian cavalry, soon followed by the infantry, attacked immediately, killing most of them and taking 200 prisoners. Any foreigners among them were sold as slaves, but the Eleian democratic exiles were all executed. The Eleian oligarchs from the city then captured Pylos and recovered Marganeis.<sup>66</sup>

In 364 the Arkadians, in company with their Argive, Boiotian and Messenian allies, defeated the Lakedaimonians at Kromnos and resumed the war in Eleia. They reinforced their garrison at Olympia and, in company with some of the local inhabitants who claimed to be the original custodians of the sanctuary and now formed the independent state of 'the Pisatans', began to celebrate the Olympic festival.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps it was now that these Pisatans, looking back to both the popular movement of the period before the synoikism and the mythology which this movement had inspired both Bakkhylides and Pindar to include in their epinikian odes,<sup>68</sup> reinterpreted the Omphalionids as the rulers of an ancient kingdom in conflict with the Eleians. The polity of the Pisatans is mentioned in an inscription from 364 BC, discussed above, by means of which the Arkadians, Pisatans and Akroreians seem to have recorded their agreement to defend each other's democratic constitutions whenever the need arose.<sup>69</sup> The establishment of a Pisatan state may thus be seen as a response of the Arkadians and the surviving Eleian democrats to the events of the previous year, the assumption by the oligarchs of exclusive power in Elis and their capture of the democratic bases at Pylos and Marganeis. Pisatis seems now to have become the centre of democratic resistance to the Eleian oligarchs, who responded by introducing an oligarchic constitution in which the reduction in the number of *hellanodikai* from twelve to eight, as Pausanias makes clear, reflected a significant loss of territory.<sup>70</sup>

The Eleians in the city reacted to the Arkadian and Pisatan celebration of the Olympic festival of 364 BC by summoning their oligarchically governed Akhaian

allies and marching towards Olympia, where the competitions had actually begun and the Arkadians and Pisatans were not expecting an attack. As the Eleians advanced in battle order towards the sacred precinct, the third event, the wrestling, was taking place between the stadion and the altar of Zeus. The Arkadians lined up with the Kladeos in front of them towards the west and the sanctuary behind, supported by 2,000 Argive hoplites and 400 Athenian cavalry. The Eleians formed up on the opposite, western side of the stream and moved forward into action, leading their Akhaian allies. They defeated first the Arkadians and then the Argives, driving their opponents back to the space between the *bouleuterion* and the temple of Hestia, just a little to the south of where the wrestling had been taking place. As they approached the altar of Zeus, however, their enemies began to pelt them with stones and weapons from the roofs of the *bouleuterion*, the temple of Zeus and other buildings. Some of the Eleians were killed, including Stratolas, the commander of the three hundred and one of the leaders of the oligarchic party in Elis.<sup>71</sup> The Eleians then retired to their own camp, and the Arkadians and their allies spent the night demolishing some of the buildings inside the sanctuary in order to build fortifications. When the Eleians advanced on the following day and saw the strength of the fortifications and the number of their enemies, they returned to Elis.<sup>72</sup>

Diodoros gives a different account, in which the Pisatans and Arkadians attack the Eleians while they are holding the games, defeating them as the spectators look on wearing wreaths and applauding at appropriate moments, and take over the management of the festival.<sup>73</sup> It is hard to believe, however, that Xenophon could have fabricated so much detail about an event at which much of his intended audience must have been present. What is contained in Diodoros' report, in contrast, could easily have been imagined by someone who had only a scanty knowledge of the actual events and simply added a few details which seemed appropriate to the occasion,<sup>74</sup> so Xenophon's account must clearly be preferred. In explaining how the war came to an end, too, Xenophon and Diodoros give differing accounts, and again the latter seems to have things the wrong way around.<sup>75</sup>

According to Xenophon, the Arkadian magistrates began to use the sacred treasure of Zeus Olympios to pay their permanent federal army, known as the *eparittoi*. The Mantineians, however, objecting to this use of the sacred treasure, raised among themselves the amount which was their share of the pay and sent it off to the magistrates of the Arkadian League. The magistrates then accused the leading Mantineians of harming the League and summoned them to appear before the assembly of the Ten Thousand. They refused, and the Arkadian League magistrates sent the *eparittoi* to arrest them, but the Mantineians shut their gates. When some of the other Arkadians supported the Mantineians, the assembly passed a resolution forbidding further use of the sacred treasure. By this time the character of the *eparittoi* seems to have changed: while those who could not afford to serve without pay began to drift away, others who were wealthier joined up, intending to take control of the army. These wealthier, more oligarchically inclined citizens of the Arkadian cities seem to have seen service among the *eparittoi* as a means of bringing about political change within the League.<sup>76</sup>

The Arkadian magistrates then sent a message to the Boiotians saying that if they did not march into Arkadia the Arkadians would probably go over to the Spartans. Xenophon reports that the magistrates made this request because they had begun to fear they might be executed for using the sacred funds, but their prosecution would have amounted to an oligarchic takeover of the League, so the decision to call in the Boiotians appears to have been made for political at least as much as personal reasons. As the Boiotians were preparing for another campaign in the Peloponnese, certain individuals persuaded the Arkadian assembly to ask them to wait until they were specifically requested to intervene. These same people, those whom Xenophon says advised the best for the Peloponnese (οἱ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ βουλευόμενοι), also agreed that they did not really want a war, that they had no need to preside over the temple of Zeus and that they should hand the presidency back to the Eleians, and they seem to have persuaded the Arkadian assembly, now representative of a more prosperous element of the citizen body, to propose peace on this basis. Understandably, the Eleians accepted, and a truce was made, followed by a peace which Xenophon records was agreed to by all, including the Tegeans and a Theban commander who happened to be present with 300 Boiotian hoplites.<sup>77</sup> Those who in Xenophon's view advised the best for the Peloponnese were clearly the political opponents of the democratic magistrates. While celebrations for the peace were going on in Tegea, these magistrates, who although they now lacked support in the assembly had not yet been deposed, began to work with the Boiotians and certain of the *eparittoi* to arrest the members of the aristocratic party.<sup>78</sup> The Arkadian League had evidently begun to fracture along party lines, and the Arkadians seem to have made peace with the Eleian oligarchs because an oligarchic faction had become influential among themselves as well.

### **The democratic revival**

The war between the Eleians and the Arkadians had ended well for the oligarchic cause, since while at its beginning the Eleian oligarchs and democrats seem to have achieved some sort of balance and the Arkadian League was democratic, at its end the oligarchs were in secure control of Elis and the Arkadian League was split between a democratic faction dominant in Tegea and an aristocratic faction based at Mantinea. The Boiotians now responded to a Tegean request for aid by promising to send an army to support those Arkadians who were on their side.<sup>79</sup> The Eleians, Akhaians and Mantineians, along with those of the other Arkadians 'who cared for the Peloponnese' (οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου), that is, those who were ruled by aristocracies, prepared to resist and sent to both Athens and Sparta for help.<sup>80</sup> The Boiotians and their northern Greek allies then set out for the Peloponnese, counting on the support of the Argives, Messenians, Tegeans and Megalopolitans, as well as some of the other Arkadians.<sup>81</sup> The Arkadian League had now openly ruptured in accord with the political orientation of the leaders of its constituent communities, and most of mainland Greece seems to have done the same, apart from the Athenians, who took the oligarchic side, probably out of

rivalry with the Boiotians.<sup>82</sup> When in 362 BC these two alliances confronted each other in the second battle of Mantinea, the Eleian cavalry, as enthusiastic as ever for the oligarchic cause, played a significant role. At first the Boiotians and their allies seemed likely to win, but they failed to follow up their successes and no side achieved a clear victory.<sup>83</sup>

The Greeks, apart from the Lakedaimonians, then agreed upon a general peace and alliance.<sup>84</sup> As Xenophon remarks just before the end of the *Hellenika*, however, 'after this battle there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece than before.'<sup>85</sup> The alliances of *poleis* which had fought at Mantinea seem largely to have survived, since when the inhabitants of some of the towns that had been incorporated into Megalopolis returned to their former homes and the remaining Megalopolitans attempted to compel them to come back, those who had left the city sought help from the Mantineians and their Arkadian allies, along with the Eleians and the other non-Arkadian allies of the Mantineians. The Boiotians, supporting those Arkadians who were opposed to the Mantineians, sent an army to help force the unwilling Megalopolitans back into the city.<sup>86</sup> A similar alignment endured until at least 352/351 BC, when the Lakedaimonians, after invading the territory of Megalopolis in an attempt to break up the city, camped near Mantinea before fighting a battle at Argos against the Argives, Sikyonians, Messenians and Boiotians. Fighting continued in the Peloponnese between these two alliances until the Lakedaimonians and Megalopolitans agreed upon an armistice.<sup>87</sup> The Eleians, although not named, had most likely taken the side of the Lakedaimonians, since the latter offered to support their claim to a part of Triphylia. This must have been Lepreatis, which at that time belonged to the Arkadian League centred on Megalopolis.<sup>88</sup>

The various Arkadian *poleis* are likely to have retained the constitutions they had adopted before the battle of Mantinea, and in Elis, too, we can assume that the oligarchy established during the war against the Arkadian League remained in place.<sup>89</sup> With the return of Olympia to the Eleians in 362 BC, the Pisatan state had dissolved. In order to determine the fate of its former citizens, we can again turn to the passage of Pausanias in which changes in the number of *hellanodikai* are assigned to Olympiads.<sup>90</sup> Here we find that by the 104th Olympiad (364 BC) the number of tribes had been reduced to eight, with one *hellanodikas* from each. Since Pausanias explains that in this case the change was made because in a war against the Arkadians the Eleians had lost some of their demes, a considerable number of the Eleians appear temporarily to have become Pisatans. It was not until around sixteen years later, however, in time for the 108th Olympiad of 348 BC, that the number of the tribes and *hellanodikai* was increased to ten, so perhaps the former Pisatan rebels were excluded from participation in the government of the Eleian *polis* for quite some time after the recovery of Olympia.<sup>91</sup> The fact that the Eleians chose ten *hellanodikai* for Ol. 108 instead of reverting to twelve suggests that a constitutional reform involving more than just the reincorporation of the former Pisatans was introduced at this time. In order to determine the nature and duration of this constitution, we need to turn to certain passages of Demosthenes, Diodoros and Pausanias.

Diodoros records in his entry for 346/345 BC that the Sacred War came to an end. The Phokian general Phalaikos, at war with the Boiotians, had been reinforced by 1,000 hoplites led by the Lakedaimonian king Arkhidamos. When the Makedonian king Philip II came to the aid of the Boiotians with a large army, however, Phalaikos agreed to an armistice which allowed him to withdraw his force of 8,000 mercenaries to the Peloponnese.<sup>92</sup> The Phokians had been paying these mercenaries with coins produced by melting down the dedications from Delphi.<sup>93</sup> In Diodoros' account of their subsequent fate, Phalaikos hires some ships in Korinth and, after the mercenaries force him to abandon his plan to sail to southern Italy in order to fight in a war between the Tarentines and Leukanians, lands at Cape Malea in Lakedaimonian territory. Here the mercenaries are employed by some Knossians and taken to Krete, where they capture neighbouring Lyktos.<sup>94</sup> Meanwhile, the Tarentines send for help to the Spartans, but King Arkhidamos first takes his army and fleet to Krete instead, where he defeats the mercenaries and restores the Lyktians. Arkhidamos then sails to Italy to help the Tarentines, but is killed, and many of his mercenaries, 'who had taken part in plundering the oracle', are slain by the Leukanians.<sup>95</sup> The surviving mercenaries, Diodoros continues:

having been taken on by some Eleian exiles were conveyed to the Peloponnese and with them made war on the Eleians. When the Arkadians supported the Eleians and they were victorious in battle, however, the survivors, 4,000 in number, were captured. The captives were divided among the Arkadians and Eleians, and while the Arkadians sold all of their share as booty, the Eleians executed theirs because of the transgression committed against the oracle.

This explanation of the motives of the Eleians clearly refers to the dedications taken from Delphi during the Sacred War.<sup>96</sup>

Diodoros' tale of the misadventures of the Phokian general Phalaikos and the mercenaries seems inconsistent in certain respects: even though the Lakedaimonians had supported the Phokians and their mercenaries during the Sacred War to the extent that Diodoros severely condemns them for their involvement in the theft from Apollo, the mercenaries appear in Krete as their enemies;<sup>97</sup> while the mercenaries sail with Phalaikos to Krete and help the Knossians defeat the Lyktians, whom Arkhidamos then restores, they are later with Arkhidamos in southern Italy; and although the mercenaries refuse to sail to Italy under Phalaikos, they later do so under Arkhidamos. It would seem peculiar, too, if the Knossians were able to recruit mercenaries at Malea in Lakedaimonian territory for a campaign the results of which the Lakedaimonians soon had to go out of their way to reverse. Diodoros' narrative would make much more sense if the mercenaries were hired immediately by their allies in the Sacred War, Arkhidamos and the Lakedaimonians, who had originally intended to send aid to the Tarentines but had instead sailed first to Krete to assist the Lyktians against the Knossians. The mercenaries would then have fought consistently on the same side as Arkhidamos during the Sacred War, in Krete and in Italy, where, after his death, they were engaged by the Eleian exiles.

We need not conclude that this whole series of events took place during just one year, since the story of the fate of the mercenaries is part of a digression in which Diodoros provides an account of the divine retribution suffered by those complicit in stealing from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi during the Sacred War.<sup>98</sup> He does not make it clear, however, just how long after the end of that conflict the execution of the mercenaries in Elis occurred. Nor does he specify the political affiliation of either the exiles or the incumbent Eleians.

In a speech delivered to the Athenians late in 343 BC, Demosthenes warns of the danger of entanglement with Philip, which had only recently destroyed the influence and honour of the Thessalians and was now taking away their freedom. Infatuation with Philip, he continues:

has invaded the Peloponnese and brought about slaughters in Elis, and it has filled those distressed people with so much insanity and mad passion that in order to gain dominance over one another and gratify Philip they have murdered their relatives and fellow-citizens.<sup>99</sup>

The events in Thessaly which Demosthenes mentions seem to be those which Diodoros elsewhere allocates to 344/343 BC,<sup>100</sup> so they are likely to have occurred during the first half of 343 BC. The events in Elis had not yet taken place when he delivered the *Second Philippic* towards the end of 344,<sup>101</sup> so they, too, must belong to 343 BC. Pausanias, discussing this same episode, relates that when Philip 'corrupted the powerful among the Eleians with bribes' they 'were at variance for the first time and advanced against each other heavily armed'.<sup>102</sup> The claim that this was the first outbreak of armed factional struggle among the Eleians, though clearly untrue when one considers the civil conflict in Elis during the 360s BC, would seem much stranger if the Eleians had also fought against each other when the exiles and mercenaries invaded just a year or two earlier. The execution of the mercenaries reported by Diodoros is thus unlikely to have preceded the civil conflict in Elis in which Demosthenes and Pausanias implicate Philip.

Scholars have generally concluded that the Eleian exiles who engaged the mercenaries in southern Italy were democrats. In the events of 343 involving Philip reported by Demosthenes and Pausanias, it has been proposed, these democrats had been overthrown and exiled by the oligarchs.<sup>103</sup> Two pieces of evidence have been put forward to support this view. The first, however, an inscription from Olympia, could belong to any time between 370 and 324 BC and in any case does not stipulate the political affiliation of the exiles it mentions.<sup>104</sup> The second piece of evidence is a passage from later in the same speech, delivered in 343 BC, in which Demosthenes mentions the slaughters in Elis:

Were there some in Elis who were stealing public money? It certainly looks like it. So is any of these now taking part in bringing the democracy there to an end? Not one.<sup>105</sup>



These remarks belong to Demosthenes' attempt to persuade the Athenians that it is foolish to punish those who embezzle public money while letting those who endanger the state go free.<sup>106</sup> His point is that the men who stole the public money in Elis are not a danger to the democracy precisely because they are *not* trying to overthrow it. Scholars, nevertheless, have generally taken Demosthenes' words to imply that some other Eleians were actually in the process of overthrowing the democracy in the autumn of 343 BC.<sup>107</sup> The slaughters and the violence between the citizens which he mentions earlier in the same speech, according to this view, would have resulted in the victory of the oligarchs, who then began to reform the constitution. The democrats would have been exiled in 343 but later, in the events reported by Diodoros, unsuccessfully attempted to return with the help of the mercenaries.

Those who subscribe to this reconstruction have concluded that 'the Arkadians' whom Diodoros reports assisted the Eleians against the mercenaries were the Mantineians and their allies.<sup>108</sup> Although in 362 BC the Mantineians had broken away from the democratic Arkadian League based at Megalopolis,<sup>109</sup> in an inscription from 362/361 BC the Mantineians and their allies are referred to as 'the Arkadians', so they seem to have established a rival confederacy.<sup>110</sup> The Arkadian League formed in 370 BC, on the other hand, continued to exist, and its assembly was still meeting at Megalopolis in 348/347 BC.<sup>111</sup> Speaking in 352 in favour of sending Athenian aid to the Megalopolitans, Demosthenes had argued that 'the Arkadians', apparently the Megalopolitans and the other Arkadian communities which had remained members of the democratic League in 362, must be preserved in order to balance the power of the Lakedaimonians.<sup>112</sup> It thus remains entirely uncertain whether 'the Arkadians' whom Diodoros reports later helped the Eleians defeat the mercenaries were the oligarchic Mantineians and their allies or the members of the democratic Arkadian League based at Megalopolis.

When in 352/351 BC, during the Sacred War, the Lakedaimonians led by Arkhidamos invaded the territory of Megalopolis, the Megalopolitans were supported by the Sikyonians, Messenians, Argives and Thebans, the last three of whom, at least, enjoyed democratic government at the time.<sup>113</sup> The allies of the Lakedaimonians on this occasion appear to have included, in addition to the Phokians and Mantineians, the Eleians, who thus seem to have taken the oligarchic side. This is unsurprising, since they were most likely still ruled by the oligarchs who had gained control of Elis and brought it into alliance with the Lakedaimonians during the Eleian–Arkadian War of the 360s BC, when, as Pausanias records, the number of Eleian tribes and *hellanodikai* was reduced to eight.<sup>114</sup> The next change that he reports, an increase to ten tribes and *hellanodikai*, was brought about in time for the Olympic festival of 348 BC. We would expect these new constitutional arrangements to reflect a change away from oligarchy, and the second passage from Demosthenes discussed above suggests that this was indeed the case, since it reveals that a democracy was in place in Elis by 343. In keeping with the claims of earlier scholars, we can conclude that a democratic revolution took place in Elis between 351 and 348 BC.<sup>115</sup> The newly democratic Eleians most likely left the oligarchic Spartan alliance at that time and aligned themselves instead with the democratic Arkadians who belonged to the League based at Megalopolis.



As shown above, the failed return of the exiles reported by Diodoros does not seem to have preceded the events of 343 BC in which Demosthenes and Pausanias implicate Philip. Nor need we conclude, however, that it took place any later, and our three sources may well have recorded different aspects of the same episode. In Diodoros' report of the execution, it is true, the victims are all mercenaries, while Demosthenes and Pausanias speak only of Eleian citizens. The exiled citizens who hire the mercenaries in Diodoros' account, however, must have taken some part in the battle against their compatriots in the city, so we would expect citizen casualties on both sides. The text of Demosthenes, too, seems to distinguish the slaughters (σφαγᾶς) of unidentified persons from the murder (μυαιφονεῖν) of relatives and citizens. It was perhaps for a rhetorical purpose that Demosthenes neglected to identify the mercenaries as such, since it would have been difficult to engender sympathy for those who had stolen so much from Apollo during the Sacred War, and he probably preferred not to remind his audience that it was Philip, after all, who had put an end to the sacrilege at Delphi. It is thus entirely credible that during 343 BC a group of exiled Eleian oligarchs attempted to regain control of the *polis* with the help of more than 4,000 mercenaries hired in Italy but were defeated by the party in power, the democrats, who received military assistance from the Arkadian League based at Megalopolis and financial support from Philip II.

This alternative reconstruction appears more plausible than the usual one when we consider the context of Philip's involvement in Elis in 343. In 346/345 BC Philip had intervened on the side of the Boiotians to put an end to the Sacred War by obliging the Phokian general and his mercenaries to leave central Greece.<sup>116</sup> Demosthenes holds Philip responsible for both the slaughters and the killing of relatives and fellow-citizens at Elis in 343 BC. Pausanias says that he bribed the Eleian leaders, but elsewhere reports that *stasis* had led the Eleians to join the Makedonian alliance.<sup>117</sup> It would be entirely consistent if in 343 Philip had lent his support to the incumbent Eleians in opposing the mercenaries whom he had allowed to depart under armistice two years earlier. Now in league with the exiled Eleians, these same mercenaries threatened to establish a base in the north-western Peloponnese. Philip may thus have sent the funds described as bribes by Pausanias' source for the purpose of financing the efforts of the Eleian democrats to resist the mercenaries hired by their wealthy oligarchic opponents during the *stasis* which Pausanias also says caused the Eleians to turn to him.

The motive of the Eleians in taking the extreme measure of executing 2,000 mercenaries when instead, like the Arkadians, they might have sold them for profit, also seems clear: these men had made use of the dedications from Delphi, and may have intended to make use of those in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus as well. As the apparent instruments of divine retribution, the Eleians would be sending a strong message to anyone else who thought they might get away with appropriating the treasures of either Apollo or his father. In so doing they would also be acting as the instruments of royal retribution: the measures that the Makedonian king had the Amphiktyonic Council pass after the Sacred War included a curse on all who had taken part in robbing the sanctuary and a declaration that these people could be seized by anyone.<sup>118</sup> The slaughter which Demosthenes says the Eleians

conducted in 343 at the same time as they murdered their relatives and fellow-citizens partly in order to gratify Philip appears identical to the execution of the mercenaries recorded by Diodoros.

Perhaps we can now set aside the hypothesis of a successful oligarchic counter-revolution at Elis in 343 BC and instead conclude that the democracy established in or just before 348, despite the attempt of the oligarchs to overthrow it with the support of the mercenaries they had hired in Italy, endured for many years to come. On the eve of the period of Makedonian domination of Greece, it would then seem, the Eleian *polis* which enjoyed friendly relations with the Makedonians was a democratic one.

## Notes

- 1 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.2.
- 2 Nielsen 1997, 52.
- 3 The 'other *poleis*' in the relevant passage may have been the citizens of smaller states in Arkadia or on the Akte peninsula: Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.17–18; Diod. 15.31.2.
- 4 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.18, cf. 6.2.3.
- 5 Diog. Laert. 2.53, 56; Paus. 5.6.6.
- 6 Diog. Laert. 2.53.
- 7 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.33–52; Diod. 15.63.1–2, 6.
- 8 This volume, pp. 176–80.
- 9 Diog. Laert. 2.53.
- 10 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.25, 30; 4.2.16; cf. their mention alone at 7.4.15, 26.
- 11 Cf. Yalouris 1996, 39.
- 12 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26.
- 13 Diog. Laert. 2.53.
- 14 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11.
- 15 For the distinction between the perioikic *poleis* which the Lakedaimonians had demanded the Eleians make *autonomoi* during the Eleian War of 402 to 400 BC and the allies who had revolted from them when the Lakedaimonians invaded (later 'the Triphylians'), this volume, pp. 160–3. On the Lasionians as 'the others', Tuplin 1993, 184.
- 16 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14.
- 17 This volume, pp. 173–4.
- 18 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 183; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, no. 32. Tuplin 1993, 183–5 unnecessarily assumes that when the Eleians objected to granting *autonomia* to 'the Triphylians' they meant all of them; cf. Nielsen 1997, 152.
- 19 Nielsen 1996, 94; cf. Robinson 2011, 43–4.
- 20 Polyb. 4.77.8–10, 79.4, 80.12–14; this volume, pp. 212–13.
- 21 Isok. 6.11; Gehrke 1986, 57–8; Cartledge 1987, 383.
- 22 Paus. 5.9.5; this volume, pp. 171–3.
- 23 Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.5–9; Gehrke 1986, 57; Robinson 2011, 49–50.
- 24 Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.18.
- 25 Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.18, 5.2.1–7; cf. Isok. 4.126, 8.100; Diod. 15.5.1–5, 12.1–2; Polyb. 4.27.6, 38.2.11–12; Paus. 8.8.7–9.
- 26 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.3–5; Cartledge 1987, 383; Robinson 2011, 41.
- 27 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.6–10, 36; *Ages.* 2.23; Diod. 15.59.1–2; Plut. *Ages.* 30.5. Not all of the Arkadian communities were in favour of forming a league: Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11; Diod. 15.62.3
- 28 *NIO* 11a; Larsen 1968, 180, 187–95; Gehrke 1986, 57–8; Cartledge 1987, 383; Nielsen 1996, 95; Ruggeri 2004, 159–60; Robinson 2011, 41–4; this volume, p. 175.

- 29 Cf. Swoboda 1905, 2429.
- 30 This volume, pp. 172–3.
- 31 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.33, 4.15; Paus. 6.1.2, 7.1.38; Ruggeri 2004, 24–5; this volume, pp. 164–5. Dušanić 1991, 83 finds Argeios’ presence as a sign that Elis had become a democracy, but does not account for the position of Arkhidamos.
- 32 Zoumbaki 2005, 115–6.121, 118–19.131.
- 33 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.15; cf. Gehrke 1985, 54–5 nn.18, 20; Zoumbaki 2005, 162–3.23.
- 34 Robinson 2011, 31 dismisses this interpretation on the unsatisfactory grounds that ‘such a reading [of Xenophon] is probably oversubtle’.
- 35 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12–20; Diod. 15.62.3.
- 36 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.20–3; *Ages.* 2.23; Diod. 15.62.5; Plut. *Pelop.* 24.1.
- 37 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.30; Diod. 15.64.5, cf. 1–4.
- 38 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.24–32; *Ages.* 2.24; Diod. 15.63.4, 64.6–65.5; Plut. *Ages.* 31.1–32.8; *Pelop.* 24.2–4; Cartledge 1987, 384.
- 39 Diod. 15.66.1–6, 67.1; Plut. *Ages.* 34.1; *Pelop.* 24.5.
- 40 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.50–2; Diod. 15.67.1; Plut. *Ages.* 32.8.
- 41 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.33–52; Diod. 15.63.1–2, 6; Plut. *Pelop.* 24.5.
- 42 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.1–14.
- 43 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.15–22; Diod. 15.68.1–69.4; cf. Plut. *Pelop.* 26.1.
- 44 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.26; this volume, p. 188.
- 45 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11.
- 46 This volume, pp. 20–1.
- 47 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.15–22; Diod. 15.68.1–69.4.
- 48 Diod. 15.72.4; Paus. 8.27.1–8; Cartledge 1987, 386–7; Nielsen 2004, 520–1.
- 49 Paus. 8.36.9–37.1, 38.1, 39.1; Roy 2012, 56.
- 50 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.28–32; cf. Diod. 15.72.3–4; Plut. *Ages.* 33.3–34.1.
- 51 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.33–4.1; Diod. 15.75.1–76.3; Plut. *Pelop.* 30.1–31.1; Cartledge 1987, 387–8.
- 52 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.1–12; Cartledge 1987, 388–9.
- 53 Diod. 15.77.1. Diodoros mistakenly places Lasion in the *khora* of Triphylia.
- 54 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30; this volume, pp. 161–2, 175.
- 55 Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16; 7.4.12; Diod. 15.77.1.
- 56 Cf. Gehrke 1986, 104.
- 57 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.12–14, cf. 16, 31; Diod. 15.77.2–3; Swoboda 1905, 2427; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30; 4.2.16; this volume, pp. 174–5.
- 58 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30; 4.2.16; 7.4.14; cf. Diod. 15.77.4 (who seems confused about the geography of the western Peloponnese); this volume, pp. 160–1, 175.
- 59 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.14, cf. 16; Gehrke 1985, 55.
- 60 This volume, p. 190.
- 61 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.15–16.
- 62 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.16.
- 63 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.43, 4.16–17.
- 64 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.17–19.
- 65 Cf. Cartledge 1987, 389.
- 66 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.20–26.
- 67 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.27; *IvO* 36; *SEG* 22.339.
- 68 This volume, pp. 53–62, 76–81, 93–5.
- 69 *NIO* 11a; Siewert 1994, 262–4; Nielsen 1996, 95; Ringel *et al.* 1999, 413–20; Ruggeri 2004, 159–60; this volume, p. 175.
- 70 Paus. 5.9.6. On the oligarchic nature of the new constitution see Gehrke 1985, 55 with n.22, who nevertheless places its introduction at an earlier time.
- 71 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.28–31, cf. 4.15; Zoumbaki 2005, 324.17.
- 72 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.31–32.

- 73 Diod. 15.78.2–3.
- 74 There is no need to conclude with Stylianou 1998, 493 that Diodoros carelessly abbreviated a more detailed account he had found in Ephoros.
- 75 Diod. 15.82.1–2; Stylianou 1998, 506; cf. Cartledge's account, 1987, 390–1.
- 76 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.33–4; cf. Larsen 1968, 191; Cartledge 1987, 391.
- 77 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.34–6; Cartledge 1987, 391.
- 78 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.36–7; Larsen 1968, 191–3.
- 79 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.40; Diod. 15.82.3.
- 80 Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.1–3; Diod. 15.82.3–4.
- 81 Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.4–5.
- 82 *Stsv.* 2.290; cf. Gehrke 1986, 58.
- 83 Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.21–7; Isok. 5.44; Diod. 15.84.3–88.4; Plut. *Ages.* 35.1.
- 84 Diod. 15.89.1–2; Plut. *Ages.* 35.2–4.
- 85 Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.27.
- 86 Diod. 15.94.1–3.
- 87 Dem. 16.4–6, 30–1; Diod. 16.39.1–7.
- 88 Dem. 16.16; cf. Swoboda 1905, 2406; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 499 n.3.
- 89 Cf. Hammond and Griffith 1979, 499 n.3.
- 90 Paus. 5.9.6.
- 91 Cf. Roy 2012, 142.
- 92 Diod. 16.59.1–3.
- 93 Diod. 16.30.1–2, 31.1, 32.1, 4, 33.2, 35.6, 36.1, 37.1–3, 38.6, 56.3–58.6.
- 94 Diod. 16.61.4–62.3.
- 95 Diod. 16.62.4–63.3.
- 96 Diod. 16.63.4–5.
- 97 Diod. 16.37.3, 57.1, 4, 59.1, 62.3–4, 63.1–2, cf. 39.3; Paus. 4.28.1–2.
- 98 Diod. 16.61.1–64.3; cf. Hammond and Griffith 1979, 500 n.2. Swoboda 1905, 2407 assumes that Diodoros 'incorrectly places these events in the year 346'.
- 99 Dem. 19.260; cf. 10.4
- 100 Diod. 16.69.7–8.
- 101 Hammond and Griffith 1979, 499.
- 102 Paus. 4.28.4; cf. 5.4.9.
- 103 Swoboda 1905, 2406, 2429; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 499–501; Gehrke 1985, 56–7; Yalouris 1996, 41; Robinson 2011, 31.
- 104 Minon 30 = *NIO* 8; cf. Buck 1955, no. 65; Robinson 2011, 31–2.
- 105 Dem. 19.294–5.
- 106 Dem. 19.293–5.
- 107 Demosthenes' use of the expression translated here as 'now' (vñv) strongly suggests that he is alluding to the very moment when he was delivering the speech.
- 108 Swoboda 1905, 2406; Gehrke 1985, 57.
- 109 This volume, pp. 195–6.
- 110 *Stsv.* 2.290; Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.1; Diod. 15.94.2; Nielsen 2004, 519.
- 111 Dem. 19.10; Aiskh. 2.165; Nielsen 2004, 522.
- 112 Dem. 16.31.
- 113 Dem. 16.4–6, 30–1; Diod. 16.39.1–7. Sikyon may also have been a democracy: Griffin 1982, 72–5. On the constitutions of these states, Hansen 2004, 455; Legon 2004, 470; Nielsen 2004, 521–2; Shipley 2004, 563; Piérart 2004, 604.
- 114 Paus. 5.9.6.
- 115 Swoboda 1905, 2406, 2429; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 499; Gehrke 1985, 56; Yalouris 1996, 41; Robinson 2011, 31.
- 116 Diod. 16.59.1–3.
- 117 Dem. 19.260, cf. 10.4; Paus. 4.28.4; 5.4.9.
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## 11 A new context (338–222 BC)

### The Eleians and the Makedonians

The Eleians remained loyal to Philip II of Makedon from 343 BC, when he seems to have provided financial support to help prevent the return of their exiles, until his death in 336. Although refraining from sending Philip military aid before his victory at Khaironeia in 338 BC, they joined his subsequent campaign against the Lakedaimonians.<sup>1</sup> Philip's Eleian alliance provided him with both a secure base in the Peloponnese and influence at Olympia where, most likely to celebrate his success against the Lakedaimonians but also to conspicuously proclaim his Hellenic identity, he built the circular monument known as the Philippeion.<sup>2</sup> At this time, too, the Eleians honoured him with a statue in the sanctuary.<sup>3</sup> Their loyalty to Philip can be explained by his support for the regime in power at the time, but it may also reflect Eleian concern for the security of Olympia, since it was he who had put an end to the pillaging of Delphi during the Sacred War. The Eleians had demonstrated the depth of their concern about this kind of sacrilege, which if left unchecked might also have threatened Olympia, by executing those of the mercenaries responsible who fell into their hands in 343 BC. This concern may also help to explain why they joined in Philip's campaign against the Lakedaimonians, who had supported the Phokians and their mercenaries.<sup>4</sup>

The Eleians, despite their loyalty to Philip, took part in three unsuccessful revolts against the Makedonians during Alexander's reign and a fourth just after he died. The first of these was the widespread rebellion which broke out upon Philip's death.<sup>5</sup> Once Alexander had retrieved the situation, however, the Eleians seem to have joined the other Greeks in submitting to his authority.<sup>6</sup> In 335/334 BC the Thebans revolted against the Makedonians, asking the Arkadians, Argives and Eleians for help. An army was sent, but marched only as far as the Isthmos, leaving the Thebans to encounter disaster at the hands of Alexander.<sup>7</sup> The Eleians then recalled their pro-Makedonian exiles, and some Eleians joined in Alexander's campaign against the Persians.<sup>8</sup> When in 331 BC the Spartan king Agis III led a revolt against the Makedonians, the Eleians, along with most of the Akhaians and Arkadians, sent a contingent to join his army. The forces under Agis besieged Megalopolis and enjoyed some initial success, but suffered a great defeat in a set battle, following which the Makedonians compelled the Eleians and Akhaians to

pay compensation to the Megalopolitans.<sup>9</sup> Among the multitude of peoples who sent delegations to Alexander in Babylon in 323 BC, the Eleians, on account of their custodianship of Olympia, received the first audience.<sup>10</sup> When he died soon afterwards, however, they took part in the rebellion against the Makedonians known as the Lamian War. By the following year, nevertheless, all the rebels except the Athenians and Aitolians had negotiated peace with Antipatros, the new ruler of Makedonia. Antipatros garrisoned some of the Greek cities and ensured that others, Elis perhaps among them, were governed by pro-Makedonian oligarchies.<sup>11</sup>

During the late fourth and early third centuries BC the political ascendancy of one party or the other in Elis, as in much of the Peloponnese, often depended upon the various oscillations in the fortunes of Alexander's successors, some of whom promoted oligarchy and others democracy, though some more consistently than others. Antipatros was succeeded by Polyperkhon, who in order to detach the Greek cities from his rival, Antipatros' son Kassandros (a consistent champion of oligarchy), promised to free them and restore democracy. In 319 BC, accordingly, Polyperkhon ordered the *poleis* to exile the oligarchs established in power by Antipatros. If Elis had indeed been among the cities upon which an oligarchy was imposed in 322, it was also most likely among those states in which Polyperkhon took action to overthrow oligarchies only a few years later, in 318.<sup>12</sup> In 314, however, Polyperkhon's son Alexandros unexpectedly changed sides, accepting Kassandros' offer to become his general in the Peloponnese. Alexandros seems to have succeeded in restoring the exiled Eleian oligarchs and occupying the city of Elis, since Diodoros reports that he and 'the Eleians' soon besieged Kyllene.<sup>13</sup> The inhabitants of this port city, who were most likely inclined towards democracy and could more easily maintain contact with allies beyond the Peloponnese than their compatriots in the city of Elis, resisted stubbornly. Antigonos, another of Alexander's successors who, fortunately for the Kyllenians, had now adopted the political stance formerly taken by Polyperkhon, soon arrived to raise the siege, and Elis appears to have been among the Peloponnesian cities freed from Alexandros' garrisons by Antigonos' general Telephoros in the following year.<sup>14</sup> By 312, however, Telephoros had become alienated from his commander. Pretending he was still loyal to Antigonos, he entered the city and, fortifying the akropolis, subjected Elis to himself. Then, confirming the fears which seem to have underlain the Eleian execution in 343 BC of those whose pay had once been provided from funds taken from Delphi,<sup>15</sup> Telephoros took from the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios more than 500 talents of silver, which he used to hire mercenaries. At this, Ptolemaios, another of Antigonos' generals, marched to Elis, destroyed the fortifications on the akropolis, gave back their freedom to the Eleians, restored his treasure to the god and obliged Telephoros to hand back Kyllene as well.<sup>16</sup>

A general agreement among the successors of Alexander concluded in 311 BC stipulated that while Kassandros would become commander of Europe, including Makedonia, the Greeks would be *autonomoi*. As Diodoros observes, however, the successors failed to honour this agreement.<sup>17</sup> Despite the autonomy clause, by 303 BC Demetrios Poliorketes ('the Besieger'), the son of Antigonos, was planning



to free the Greeks from Kassandros' control. Demetrios liberated Argos, the cities of the Akte peninsula, Sikyon, Korinth, Arkadian Orkhomenos and some places in Akhaia. As a consequence, certain nearby strongholds surrendered, causing the garrisons of Kassandros to withdraw from the various *poleis*.<sup>18</sup> Elis, perhaps, had again come under an oligarchy sponsored by Kassandros, but was now among the cities from which his garrisons fled.<sup>19</sup> Demetrios, however, was soon forced to go to the aid of his father in Asia,<sup>20</sup> and after the defeat and death of Antigonos at Ipsos in 301 BC returned to Greece to find that the cities had generally defected to his enemies. He cannot have lost all of them, nevertheless, since when he sailed off to the Thracian Khersonnese soon afterwards he left Pyrrhos to look after his possessions in Greece.<sup>21</sup> Much of what Demetrios did lose in the Peloponnese he seems to have recovered in 295 BC, when he besieged Messene and received the submission of certain other cities which had revolted from him.<sup>22</sup> Even if Kassandros had managed to reimpose oligarchy upon the Eleians, Demetrios is thus likely to have restored democracy to them soon afterwards. By 294, when Demetrios became the ruler of Makedonia, all the Greek mainland except Aitolia and Sparta had come under his control, so the party favourable to him in Elis probably remained in power.<sup>23</sup> Little appears to have changed in the Peloponnese in the period immediately following the fall of Demetrios, since his son Antigonos Gonatas retained much of Greece.<sup>24</sup>

During the period of anarchy in Makedonia that accompanied the invasions of the Gauls from around 280 BC, Antigonos Gonatas established a position on the Hellespont, where in 277 BC he defeated a Gallic army at Lysimakheia and claimed the Makedonian throne. Gonatas later sustained a temporary setback at the hands of Pyrrhos of Epeiros, who then, in 272 BC, invaded the Peloponnese in order to attack Sparta.<sup>25</sup> Pyrrhos crossed the Korinthian Gulf near its mouth and made his way from there to Megalopolis, which lay on the route between Olympia and Sparta,<sup>26</sup> so he most likely passed through Eleia. Pausanias' report of a statue of Pyrrhos which an Eleian called Thrasyboulos had privately dedicated at Olympia need not imply, however, that the Eleians were among the Peloponnesians who joined the invader.<sup>27</sup> Like the Aitolians, they may simply have permitted Pyrrhos to lead his army through their territory. Together, Gonatas and the Spartans defeated Pyrrhos at Argos, where he was killed.<sup>28</sup> In a departure from the generally pro-democratic posture of his father and grandfather, Gonatas then seems to have promoted tyrannies in certain Greek cities, the first of which was that of Aristotimos at Elis, set up during the winter of 272/271 BC.<sup>29</sup>

### **The tyranny of Aristotimos**

Plutarch, in a quite detailed account, reports that Aristotimos became tyrant at Elis with Antigonos Gonatas' support. His rule was enforced by non-Greek mercenaries, whom he came to fear, and sustained by execution and banishment. One of the mercenary captains, for example, attempted to rape and ultimately killed a certain Mikka, the daughter of Philodemos, but Aristotimos took no action. Eight hundred Eleians fled to the Aitolians, and Aristotimos, although promising to let 600 of

their wives go, allowed his mercenaries to brutally kill some of them, along with their children, imprisoned the remainder and confiscated their personal possessions. The sixteen priestesses of Dionysos appealed to Aristotimos on behalf of the imprisoned women, but he had his guards drive them away. A certain Hellanikos then began to plot against the tyrant, and the exiles returned from Aitolia to occupy Amydone, a strong position in the countryside, where they were joined by some of the other citizens. Aristotimos ordered the imprisoned women to write to their husbands asking them to leave the country, but a woman called Megisto who had become their leader replied that she hoped the men would not forsake the freedom of their fatherland in order to save their wives and children. Aristotimos drew his sword against her, but Kylon, a supposed associate who was actually in the conspiracy with Hellanikos, persuaded him to spare her.

When an eagle dropped a stone on the roof of the room where Aristotimos was lying, Plutarch continues, he sent for a *mantis*, who explained that the omen signified the approval of Zeus. The *mantis*, however, informed the conspirators that it actually presaged the end of the tyrant, so they planned to rise against him on the following day. Because of a dream and because Krateros, Gonatas' general, had reached Olympia, Aristotimos became confident enough to venture into the *agora* with Kylon and certain others, but no bodyguard. At this, Hellanikos instigated the uprising and Kylon killed one of Aristotimos' followers. Two other conspirators, Thrasyboulos (probably the *mantis* already mentioned) and Lampis, rushed at the tyrant, who took refuge in the temple of Zeus, where they put him to death and, taking his body to the *agora*, called upon the citizens to seize their freedom. The mass of the people (τὸ πλῆθος) then took hold of the two beautiful maiden daughters of Aristotimos, intending to torture and insult them before putting them to death, but Megisto and the other women protested that if they thought themselves a worthy *demos*, it would be a terrible thing if they behaved like tyrants, so they compassionately allowed the daughters to commit suicide instead.<sup>30</sup>

Justin, epitomising the history of the first-century BC Pompeius Trogus, reports a similar series of events to those found in Plutarch's tale, though his version contains two additional pieces of information: that the Aitolians had sent ambassadors to the tyrant asking him to give up the wives and children of the exiles; and that Hellanikos had to bring his fellow-conspirators into action by threatening them with exposure.<sup>31</sup> While the accounts of both Plutarch and Justin seem ultimately derived from the contemporary writer Phylarkhos, a brief report from Pausanias contains variations which appear to originate from both his own observation of inscriptions at Olympia and Delphi and the accounts of his Eleian guides.<sup>32</sup> Aristotimos the son of Demaretos, he records, had become tyrant of Elis with the support of Antigonos and after a six-month tyranny was deposed in an uprising led by Khilon, Hellanikos, Lampis and Kylon. In his version of events, however, it is Kylon who kills Aristotimos. This detail seems corroborated by his further report that the Aitolian League dedicated at Olympia a statue of Kylon, 'who had freed the Eleians from the tyranny of Aristotimos'.<sup>33</sup>

Gómez Espelosin demonstrates that 'the rebellion against the tyrant presents all the appearances of an aristocratic conspiracy, plotted and hatched in aristocratic

circles.’ Aristotimos seems to have acted against the aristocracy alone rather than the population as a whole, since the number of 800 exiles may correspond to a large section of the ruling class, their 600 wives seem to have possessed valuable personal items and Justin uses the expression *ex primoribus* (‘of the nobles’) to describe the exiles. Plutarch identifies Mikka, the girl killed by one of the mercenaries, as ‘noble and high-minded’ (γενναία καὶ μεγαλόφρων), and the recording of her father’s name suggests that she was from a leading family. ‘The whole process of the conspiracy itself,’ Gómez Espelosín continues, ‘has all the airs of an aristocratic plot’, and both Plutarch and Justin use terminology consistent with that kind of event. The sixteen priestesses of Dionysos, since they were wealthy enough to pay a fine of two talents, were most likely from aristocratic families, and Megisto became the leader of the women partly because of the position held by her husband Timoleon. The members of the *demos*, on the other hand, seem to have participated only at the end of the uprising, after Aristotimos had been killed, and Megisto has to restrain their brutality.<sup>34</sup>

Gómez Espelosín is less convincing, however, when he attempts to associate Aristotimos with the popular cause.<sup>35</sup> Despite his claim, the evidence presented by Stadter establishes the democratic credentials of neither Thrasyboulos nor Kylon.<sup>36</sup> Gómez Espelosín also argues that, since the mercenaries do not seem to have been a problem for the conspirators, Aristotimos must actually have relied upon popular support. The conspirators, however, were surely in contact with the exiles outside the city, so it would be surprising if they had not planned to admit them to oppose the mercenaries at the moment of the uprising. The people, furthermore, appear as bitter opponents of the tyrant and his family. Aristotimos, too, is emboldened by the proximity of an Antigonid general. The tyranny thus appears to have been imposed upon the Eleians by Gonatas and maintained in power by means of mercenaries with little support from within the city. This, of course, would help to explain why it lasted only five or six months.

In 268/267 BC the Athenians passed the decree of Khremonides, which approved an alliance with the Spartans and mentioned certain additional allies: the Eleians, Akhaians, Tegeans, Mantineians, Orkhomenians, Phigaleians and Kaphaians, along with some Kretan *poleis* subject to Sparta. This decree implies both hostility to Antigonos Gonatas and the expectation of support from Ptolemy II of Egypt, to whom the Spartans were already allied.<sup>37</sup> The Athenians hoped to expel the Makedonians from the Peiraieus, the Spartans under King Areus intended to revive their hegemony in the Peloponnese and Ptolemy wished to counter the rising power of the Makedonian kingdom following Antigonos Gonatas’ defeat of Pyrrhos.<sup>38</sup> The Peloponnesians who joined must certainly have found a leader worth following in Areus, who had acquitted himself well against the forces of Pyrrhos, enjoyed the support of Ptolemy and was now opposed to Antigonos.<sup>39</sup> It is not immediately obvious, however, why they would support a cause which, if successful, would have left them subject to the Spartans. During Pyrrhos’ invasion of the Peloponnese, on the other hand, Areus, in keeping with his aim of reviving a hegemony which had both supported and relied upon oligarchic governments in the allied *poleis*, appears to have acted in favour of the Argive aristocrats.<sup>40</sup>

The aristocrats who overthrew pro-Antigonid tyrannies in Elis and the other states which joined the alliance may have anticipated that the Lakedaimonians would help maintain their own privileged political position, as in earlier times. In both Argos and Sikyon, neither of which joined the alliance, tyrannies prevailed, while the Messenians, whose name is also absent from the decree, seem to have enjoyed democratic government in this period.<sup>41</sup>

The Eleian tyrant-slayers of 272/271 appear to have turned to Areus soon after they had overthrown Aristotimos, and the Lakedaimonians were clearly ready to intervene in Eleian affairs in favour of the aristocratic party. Pausanias reports that ‘not long after’ the invasions of the Gauls in the early 270s BC a struggle arose in Elis between two factions, one of which favoured the Messenians and the other the Lakedaimonians. While the Lakedaimonians were preparing to send regular forces to aid their own partisans, 1,000 picked Messenians, by pretending to be Lakedaimonians, gained admittance to Elis, drove out the pro-Lakedaimonian faction and handed the city over to their own supporters,<sup>42</sup> most likely the democrats. This event should be placed after Pyrrhos’ invasion of 272 BC, since the Messenians had been sympathetic towards the Lakedaimonians at that time.<sup>43</sup> Pausanias, it is true, also places ‘not long after’ the Messenian intervention another event which seems to have occurred as late as 214 BC, so the chronology of the Messenian intervention in Elis which he records is far from precise.<sup>44</sup> The context of the period immediately after the promulgation of Khremonides’ decree, nevertheless, is a plausible one, so Elis may have endured only a very brief period of tyranny followed by a few years of oligarchic rule before democracy was restored.

### **The Eleians and the Aitolians**

The Aitolian contribution to the overthrow of Aristotimos appears to have consisted of providing no more than refuge, advice and material support to the Eleian exiles.<sup>45</sup> A decree of the Delphic amphiktyony dated to 272/271 honours two men, one an Eleian called Alexeinides, for their part in exposing a theft from the sanctuary of Apollo.<sup>46</sup> The decree makes it clear that Alexeinides was an Eleian living in Aitolia and was thus most likely one of the refugees from Aristotimos’ tyranny. Scholten plausibly concludes from this that the Aitolian presidents of the amphiktyonic council were using that body ‘to advertise, and possibly to sanction, a foreign policy position of their *koinon*’. From an Aitolian perspective, Scholten further believes, Antigonos’ support for Aristotimos was intended not only to increase his control over the Peloponnese, but also to challenge the Aitolians’ own sphere of influence, and the Aitolians responded by helping to overthrow the Eleian tyrant.<sup>47</sup> This latter claim would entail, however, that Elis already lay within the Aitolian sphere.

There were certainly both mythological and historical links between the two peoples. An element of the historical Eleians may have been descended from Aitolian immigrants, the myth of Oxylos’ arrival in Elis from Aitolia appears to originate from at least the seventh century BC, and by the sixth century a further myth was circulating in which Aitolos, the supposed Aitolian founder, had

emigrated from Elis ten generations before the time of Oxylos.<sup>48</sup> In 401 BC Aitolian troops had helped defend the city of Elis from the Spartans and their allies.<sup>49</sup> There is little evidence, however, of direct Aitolian support for the Eleians between that time and the expulsion of Aristotimos in 272/271 BC. Both the Eleians and Aitolians, it is true, had enjoyed friendly relations with Philip II, both joined the rebellion which followed his death, both revolted from the Makedonians in the Lamian War and both opposed Kassandros while supporting Antigonos I. The Eleians, however, do not seem to have supported the Aitolians in their conflict with Demetrios. Some have found reason to believe that they joined Areus' campaign against the Aitolians in 281/280 BC, since Justin says that almost all the Greek cities joined the campaign and the Eleians dedicated a statue of Areus at Olympia. Justin's wording, on the other hand, suggests that there were some Greeks who did not join Areus, and the statue may well belong to a later context.<sup>50</sup> Although the Aitolians sent Pyrrhos no aid, they must have allowed him to pass through their territory before crossing the Korinthian Gulf in 272, and the Eleians appear to have done the same once he had reached the Peloponnese.<sup>51</sup> During the late fourth and early third centuries BC, it thus seems, the Aitolians and Eleians often found themselves on the same side, and probably never on opposing sides, but there is no need to assume that any direct cooperation took place.

The pro-Lakedaimonian aristocrats who had overthrown Aristotimos in the winter 272/271 BC most likely still held power in Elis when the decree of Khremonides was issued, perhaps in 268/267 BC.<sup>52</sup> The Messenians, on the other hand, are not listed among the allies of the Athenians and Spartans, so the newly dominant pro-Messenian party in Elis may have withdrawn the *polis* from the alliance before the war began. As a result, we cannot assume that the Eleians actually joined in the fighting during the Khremonideian War, which ended in the Peloponnese with the defeat and death of Areus at Korinth in 265 BC.<sup>53</sup> Nor do the Aitolians, despite enjoying close relations with the Athenians and favouring the allies in some respects, seem to have taken part.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps they were unwilling to cooperate with Areus, who had previously attacked their League, and he, in turn, may have felt hostile towards them for facilitating Pyrrhos' invasion of the Peloponnese.<sup>55</sup> More likely, however, Antigonos had secured the neutrality of the Aitolians by tacitly allowing the continued expansion of their *koinon*.<sup>56</sup> During the Khremonideian War, it would thus seem, both the Eleians and Aitolians again took a neutral stance, but there is no evidence to suggest that they were deliberately pursuing a common policy.

This was to change, however, as the Aitolian League continued to expand, becoming by the late 250s BC 'the most powerful state in central Greece'.<sup>57</sup> At that time the Aitolians began a series of expeditions to the Peloponnese in which the Eleians often figured. Polybios records that at some time before Philip V's invasion of the Peloponnese in 219/218 BC the Eleians had conquered the Triphylian *poleis* of Samikon, Lepreon, Hypana, Typaneiai, Pyrgos, Aipion, Bolax, Stylangion and Phrixa, formerly part of Arkadia. Lydiadas, the tyrant of Megalopolis, in return for certain private services, had also given them Alipheira, on the Alpheios between Eleian territory and Heraia.<sup>58</sup> Lydiadas was



tyrant of Megalopolis between 245 and 235 BC, so the Eleians probably received Alipheira soon after 245 BC and conquered the Triphylian cities a little earlier.<sup>59</sup> The Eleian conquest of the formerly Arkadian district of Triphylia seems to have been achieved with Aitolian assistance. In the mid-third century BC the Aitolian *strategos* Physkos of Naupaktos was honoured with a statue at Olympia, and Pausanias reports that an Aitolian called Polysperkhon had once used Samikon as a forward base for offensive action (ἐπιτείχισμα) against the Arkadians.<sup>60</sup> Since Samikon commanded the narrow pass between Mount Lapithas and the sea (Figure 11.1),<sup>61</sup> it would have been particularly useful for any Eleian conquest of Lepreatis, and if Polysperkhon, of whom Pyrrhos thought highly as a general, did not lead an Aitolian contingent, he seems at least to have been sent by the Aitolians to take command of an Eleian force.<sup>62</sup> An inscription from shortly before 240 BC records that certain Aitolians negotiated the establishment of relations of friendship (φιλία) and shared citizenship (ἰσοπολιτεία) between the Messenians and the Phigaleians, an Arkadian community on the middle Neda. This document reveals that the Aitolians were involved in the neighbourhood of Triphylia at that time, and thus provides further reason to believe that they were promoting Eleian expansion into this district during the 240s BC.<sup>63</sup>

By 219 BC the Eleians had politically incorporated Psophis, a natural fortress on the upper Erymanthos which commanded a section of the route between Eleia and north-western Arkadia and offered access to western Akhaia (Map 11.1).<sup>64</sup> They also possessed Lasion, a fortified town on the route from Psophis into Eleia, which they had lost at the end of the Eleian War and whose people had joined the Arkadian League in the 360s BC.<sup>65</sup> Dissension within the far-northern Arkadian *polis* of Kynaitha during which the Akhaians attempted to intervene



*Figure 11.1* Looking westward from the site of Samikon towards the Ionian Sea. The land between the rock of Kleidhi (middle right) and the current coastline was submerged in ancient times. Photo courtesy of the author.

in favour of one faction, combined with reports of later Aitolian intervention on behalf of the other, suggest that Aitolian influence was being felt there in the mid-240s BC, perhaps in association with Eleian expansion as far as Psophis at that time.<sup>66</sup> In general, it seems, while the involvement of the Aitolians in the western Peloponnese in the mid-third century BC reflects their ongoing conflict with the Akhaians, the Eleians would have been pleased to see their land become a base for Aitolian expeditions in return for certain acquisitions which strengthened their defences against the expanding Akhaian League.<sup>67</sup>



Map 11.1 The Peloponnese in the Hellenistic period. Created by the author.



In 239/238 BC, following a general realignment of powers, the Demetrian War broke out between the Aitolian and Akhaian Leagues on the one hand and the Makedonians (ruled by Demetrios II) and Epeirotes on the other.<sup>68</sup> During this war the Illyrians, enemies of the Aitolians, seem to have raided the coastal districts of both Eleia and Messenia.<sup>69</sup> By this time the Aitolians had established a sphere of influence along the western side of the Peloponnese consisting of Messenia, Phigaleia and an Elis which extended as far as Lepreatis, Alipheira and Psophis.<sup>70</sup> The Akhaian League had already begun to expand beyond the confines of the Akhaian *ethnos*, incorporating Sikyon in 255, Korinth in 243 and Megara, Troizen and Epidauros in 242–241 BC.<sup>71</sup> In 236 the Akhaians added to their League the western Arkadian cities of Kleitor, Telphousa and Heraia,<sup>72</sup> apparently as ‘part of a campaign to put pressure on Megalopolis’.<sup>73</sup> In 235 Lydiades, the tyrant of Megalopolis, bowed to this pressure by abdicating and arranging to incorporate his city into the League.<sup>74</sup> The Aitolians seem to have been unconcerned about the decision of the Megalopolitans to join the Akhaians, perhaps because they saw this previously pro-Makedonian *polis* as a threat to their position in the western Peloponnese and had made an agreement with the Akhaians to divide up Arkadia.<sup>75</sup> The Eleians thus appear to have had little choice but to acquiesce in the expansion of the Akhaian League, which continued after the death of Demetrios in 229 BC with the incorporation of Argos, Hermione and Phleious.<sup>76</sup>

In the Kleomenic War (227–222 BC) the Spartans under King Kleomenes III challenged the growing power of the Akhaians, eventually obliging the latter to appeal to Demetrios’ successor, Antigonos III Doson, who decisively defeated Kleomenes at Sellasia in 222 BC.<sup>77</sup> Early in this war the Akhaians had invaded Eleia, but as they were withdrawing Kleomenes defeated them near Mount Lykaion, on the road between Olympia and Megalopolis.<sup>78</sup> The Akhaian invasion of the territory of the Eleians suggests that the latter had already joined the Spartan alliance and that the Akhaians were attempting to secure the approaches to their own territory from Eleia.<sup>79</sup> The third of three victories of Kleomenes in the western Peloponnese recorded by Polybios is also mentioned by Plutarch, who says that the Lakedaimonian king marched from Tegea right through Arkadia, descended upon Akhaian Pherai (on the River Peiros upstream from Dyme) and thoroughly defeated the Akhaian forces near the Hekatombeion in the territory of Dyme. This probably occurred in 226/225. Afterwards, Plutarch also reports, Kleomenes captured a place called Langon, expelled the Akhaian garrison and gave it back to the Eleians.<sup>80</sup> Kleomenes’ restoration of Langon to the Eleians further suggests that they were among his allies, and his capture of Heraia may also have been undertaken in part to secure his communications with them.<sup>81</sup>

During the course of the war, Kleomenes, following the policy pursued by Agis IV before him, carried out certain reforms at Sparta which appear intended to restore the Lakedaimonian hegemony in the Peloponnese by solving the problem of *oliganthropia* (a shortage of military manpower) which had existed from at least the early fourth century BC. The reforms involved, among other measures, the cancellation of debts and a land redistribution designed to support a total of 4,000 citizens.<sup>82</sup> Although Kleomenes’ reforms raised hopes among the landless

and/or indebted *demos* in the *poleis* of the Akhaian League that if victorious he would introduce similar reforms into their own communities, Cartledge is probably right to point out that he ‘had no intention of exporting social or economic revolution’.<sup>83</sup> As Cartledge also observes, however, by 244 BC the number of adult male Spartans of the citizen class seems to have shrunk to 700, of whom only 100 were rich landowners.<sup>84</sup> While it would thus seem unjustified to see in the movement led by Agis and Kleomenes a social revolution supported by an impoverished *plethos*, we might discern signs of a deep divide between a tiny minority which was increasingly monopolising an important source of wealth, on the one hand, and a dissatisfied class of former, current and perhaps aspiring small-to-medium landholders who had lost, were losing or hoped to gain both a reasonable source of income and the political rights which it entailed, on the other. The great landholders of the Peloponnese, considering the hopes, however misguided, which the reforms carried out by Kleomenes and his supporters inspired among the less privileged in their own communities, must have noted his rise with considerable concern.

One inscription from Olympia which might be dated towards the end of the third century BC seems to mention the *damos*, and another, a decree of *proxenia*, was issued by a council.<sup>85</sup> The mere mention of the *damos*, however, does not necessarily suggest the existence of an empowered assembly, and the decree may well have been issued by the Olympic Council, so neither of these inscriptions reveals anything conclusive about the Eleian constitution. In this case, however, foreign policy can help to illuminate internal politics. By 228 BC the Aitolians had been defeated by Antigonos, so they played no role in the Kleomenic War.<sup>86</sup> It is thus unsurprising that during the early 220s the Eleians turned to Kleomenes for assistance against the Akhaians. It is doubtful, on the other hand, that they would have joined Kleomenes in opposing the Akhaian League, within which ‘the individual cities . . . were dominated by propertied elites who in turn dominated league politics’,<sup>87</sup> if they were themselves ruled by a class of wealthy landowners. Under the leadership of Aratos and his ally Antigonos Doson, the Akhaian authorities were intent on protecting the interests of the very wealthy few, and influential men were generally keen to enrol their cities into the League rather than resist incorporation.<sup>88</sup> The alignment of the Eleians implies that they were not ruled by an aristocracy at the time, and there is no reason to believe that they had ceased to enjoy a popular form of government established with Messenian assistance within a few years of the overthrow of Aristotimos in 272/271 BC.

## Notes

- 1 Dem. 9.27; 18.295; Paus. 5.4.9; Aelian *VH* 6.1.
- 2 Paus. 5.20.10; Swoboda 1905, 2407; Scott 2010, 210–12.
- 3 Paus. 6.11.1; Swoboda 1905, 2407.
- 4 This volume, p. 198.
- 5 Diod. 17.3.5, cf. 1–4 with Welles 1963, 124–5.
- 6 Diod. 17.3.6–4.9; Justin 11.2.4–5.
- 7 Diod. 17.8.5–9.1, 10.1.

- 8 Arrian *Anab.* 1.10.1, 29.4; Swoboda 1905, 2408.
- 9 Aiskh. 3.165; Deinarkhos 1.34; Diod. 17.62.6–63.4, 73.5–6; Curtius 6.1.20. For the wider context, see Grote 1907 XII, 206–8.
- 10 Diod. 17.113.4, cf. 1–3.
- 11 Diod. 18.11.2, 17.7, 55.2, 66.4, 68.3, 69.3–4; Paus. 1.25.4; 5.4.9.
- 12 Diod. 18.55.2–57.1; 68.3, 69.4; cf. 65.1–66.3; Swoboda 1905, 2408; Yalouris 1996, 43; Shipley 2000, 120.
- 13 Diod. 19.64.4, 66.2.
- 14 Diod. 19.66.2, 74.2, 87.1.
- 15 This volume, pp. 198–202.
- 16 Diod. 19.87.1–3.
- 17 Diod. 19.105.1.
- 18 Diod. 20.102.1–103.7; Plut. *Demetr.* 25.1–3.
- 19 Swoboda 1905, 2409; Yalouris 1996, 43.
- 20 Diod. 20.106.1–111.3.
- 21 Plut. *Demetr.* 31.1–2; *Pyrrhos* 4.3; Swoboda 1905, 2409.
- 22 Plut. *Demetr.* 33.2–3; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 211.
- 23 Plut. *Demetr.* 37.2, cf. 35.1–4, 40.4, 41.1; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 217–19, 230–1.
- 24 Plut. *Demetr.* 53.1–3; Shipley 2000, 124.
- 25 Plut. *Pyrrhos* 26.2–30.1; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 255–8.
- 26 Plut. *Pyrrhos* 26.20; Justin 25.4.4; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 264; Scholten 2000, 50; this volume, pp. 8, 111–12.
- 27 Paus. 6.14.9; Swoboda 1905, 2410; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 265.
- 28 Plut. *Pyrrhos* 34.1–6, cf. 30.1–33.6; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 265–7.
- 29 Paus. 5.5.1; Plut. *Mor.* 250F; Swoboda 1905, 2410; Stadter 1965, 89; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 272–4; Scholten 2000, 56; cf. Polyb. 2.41.1.
- 30 Plut. *Mor.* 251A–253E. Thrasybulos: Paus. 6.2.4–5, 13.11, 14.9; 8.10.5; Stadter 1965, 85 n.192; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 265; Zoumbaki 2005, 188–9.21.
- 31 Justin 26.1.1–10; Seel 1972, 7, 345–7.
- 32 Stadter 1965, 86–9; Gómez Espelosín 1991, 103.
- 33 Paus. 5.5.1; 6.14.11. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 423, an inscription from Delphi, seems to honour Kylon's son rather than the tyrant slayer himself: Stadter 1965, 87 n.198.
- 34 Gómez Espelosín 1991, 105–7.
- 35 Gómez Espelosín 1991, 107–8.
- 36 Stadter 1965, 85 n.192, 87 n.198.
- 37 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 434–5 = *Stsv.* III, 476; Swoboda 1905, 2410–11; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 277; Scholten 2000, 71.
- 38 Hammond and Walbank 1988, 278–80.
- 39 Hammond and Walbank 1988, 266.
- 40 Plut. *Pyrrhos* 30.1–2, 32.2; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 266.
- 41 Hammond and Walbank 1988, 273–4; Shipley 2004, 563.
- 42 Paus. 4.28.4–6, cf. 3.
- 43 Paus. 1.13.6; 4.29.6; Justin 25.4.4.
- 44 Paus. 4.29.1; cf. Polyb. 3.19.11; Walbank 1957, 331; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 397.
- 45 Scholten 2000, 56; this volume, pp. 208–10.
- 46 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 418A.4–8, cf. B, C.
- 47 Scholten 2000, 57.
- 48 This volume, pp. 18–19.
- 49 Diod. 14.17.9–10; this volume, p. 158.
- 50 Paus. 6.12.5, 15.9; Justin 24.1.1–7; *contra* Swoboda 1905, 2409–10; cf. Hammond and Walbank 1988, 249; Scholten 2000, 13–20.
- 51 This volume, p. 208; Scholten 2000, 49–51.

- 52 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 434–5 = *Stsv.* III, 476; Shipley 2000, 125–6, who notes the uncertainty of the date.
- 53 Paus. 1.1.1, 7.3; 3.6.4–6; Plut. *Agis* 3.4; Justin 26.2.1–7; Swoboda 1905, 2411; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 280–5; Scholten 2000, 72.
- 54 Walbank 1984, 241–2; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 288; Scholten 2000, 61, 71–4.
- 55 Scholten 2000, 74.
- 56 Hammond and Walbank 1988, 289; Scholten 2000, 76–7.
- 57 Scholten 2000, 95, cf. 83–105.
- 58 Polyb. 4.77.8–10. On Alipheira, Nielsen 2004, 509–10.266; cf. Walbank 1957, 530–1.
- 59 Scholten 2000, 261.
- 60 *IvO* 295; Paus. 5.6.1; Scholten 2000, 120 and n.108.
- 61 This volume, p. 34.
- 62 Plut. *Pyrrhos* 8.3; Scholten 2000, 120–2.
- 63 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 472 = *Stsv.* III 495; Scholten 2000, 121, 262.
- 64 Polyb. 4.70.1–11. Perhaps it was now that the Eleian Klytiad *manteis* began to emphasise their association with Psophis: Paus. 6.17.6; 8.24.8; Apollod. *Lib.* 3.7.5; Bourke 2014, 24–5.
- 65 Polyb. 4.73.1; this volume, pp. 175, 193.
- 66 Polyb. 4.17.3–18.8; 19.7; Scholten 2000, 118–20; 263.
- 67 Swoboda 1905, 2411; Scholten 2000, 96, 118–23.
- 68 Hammond and Walbank 1988, 321–42; Scholten 2000, 132–63.
- 69 Polyb. 2.4.9–5.1; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 333; Scholten 2000, 148.
- 70 Scholten 2000, 157.
- 71 Polyb. 2.43.3–4; Plut. *Aratos* 23.1–24.3.
- 72 Polyainos *Strat.* 2.36.
- 73 Scholten 2000, 157; cf. Hammond and Walbank 1988, 330.
- 74 Plut. *Aratos* 30.1–2; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 330.
- 75 Scholten 2000, 157–61.
- 76 Polyb. 2.44.3–6; Plut. *Aratos* 34.5–35.3; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 341–2.
- 77 Polyb. 2.46.1–70.1; Plut. *Aratos* 35.4–46.1; *Kleo.* 3.4–31.1; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 342, 345–62.
- 78 Polyb. 2.51.3; Plut. *Kleo.* 5.1; *Aratos* 36.1; this volume, pp. 8, 111–12.
- 79 Swoboda 1905, 2411–12. On Spartan expansion, Polyb. 2.46.2, 52.1–2; Plut. *Kleo.* 17.3–5; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 342.
- 80 Polyb. 2.51.3; Plut. *Aratos* 36.3–37.3; *Kleo.* 14.1–2; Walbank 1957, 250. Date: Swoboda 1905, 2412; Walbank and Habicht 2010, 401 n.111.
- 81 Plut. *Kleo.* 7.3.
- 82 Cartledge 1989, 50–3; Shipley 2000, 143–7.
- 83 Plut. *Kleo.* 17.3, 20.3–4; Cartledge 1989, 53; Shipley 2000, 145.
- 84 Plut. *Agis* 5.4; Cartledge 1989, 42–3; Shipley 2000, 142.
- 85 Minon 33, 34 = *IvO* 38, 39; Swoboda 1905, 2429–30.
- 86 Walbank 1988, 338–40; Scholten 2000, 64–92, 184–71.
- 87 Shipley 2000, 137–8; cf. Larsen 1968, 223–33. As Larsen, 195 also notes, the Aitolians retained ‘a very active primary assembly to a late date’.
- 88 Walbank 1940, 17, 22–3, 29; Cartledge 1989, 55; Shipley 2000, 140.

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## 12 Resistance and subjection (221–146 BC)

### The Social War

Following the victory of Antigonos Doson and the Akhaians over the Spartans led by Kleomenes at Sellasia in 222 BC, all of the Peloponnese apart from Lakonia, Messenia, Phigaleia and Eleia belonged to an Akhaian League which relied upon Makedonian power to maintain its position, and both the Spartans and Messenians were counted among the allies of the Makedonians and Akhaians.<sup>1</sup> Even though the Spartans avoided active participation,<sup>2</sup> only the Eleians and Aitolian-dominated Phigaleia stood unequivocally outside the system of alliances headed by the new Makedonian king, Philip V. In 220 BC, an Aitolian force crossed the Korinthian Gulf, marched through western Arkadia to Phigaleia and raided Messenia. The Aitolians then advanced towards Eleia, sending a message to their *strategos* Ariston, based at Kyllene, asking him to send transport ships to Pheia.<sup>3</sup> The Aitolians, Polybios explains, had always cultivated the friendship of the Eleians in order to facilitate raiding the Peloponnese.<sup>4</sup> This particular incursion, however, may have been intended to discourage the Messenians from joining in the war on the side of the Makedonians and Akhaians. After shipping their booty at Pheia, the Aitolians turned back towards Olympia, marched along the Alpheios up into Megalopolitan territory, went on to defeat the Akhaians at Kaphyai, pillaged the territory of Sikyon and exited the Peloponnese through the Isthmos.<sup>5</sup> Although the Eleians had clearly preserved friendly relations with the Aitolians and allowed them to march through their territory and use their port, there is no evidence to suggest that they actively supported this campaign in the Peloponnese.

Philip and his allies responded to the Aitolian campaign by meeting at Korinth, where they decided to begin the conflict with the Aitolians known as the 'Social War'.<sup>6</sup> In the same year, a combined force of Aitolians and Illyrians crossed from Naupaktos to raid Akhaia, where with inside help they captured the inland city of Kynaitha. They offered this place to the Eleians, who, perhaps because they were initially reluctant to take part in the war, declined to accept it.<sup>7</sup> At around the end of the Kleomonic War, the Eleians had set up at Olympia a statue of Antigonos and the young Philip.<sup>8</sup> While this need not suggest that they were ready to put an end to their close relations with the Aitolians,<sup>9</sup> it may reveal that a pro-Makedonian party had some influence in Elis at the time. In 219 BC, certain Spartans who shared the popular sentiments earlier promoted by Kleomenes III executed the ephors and expelled

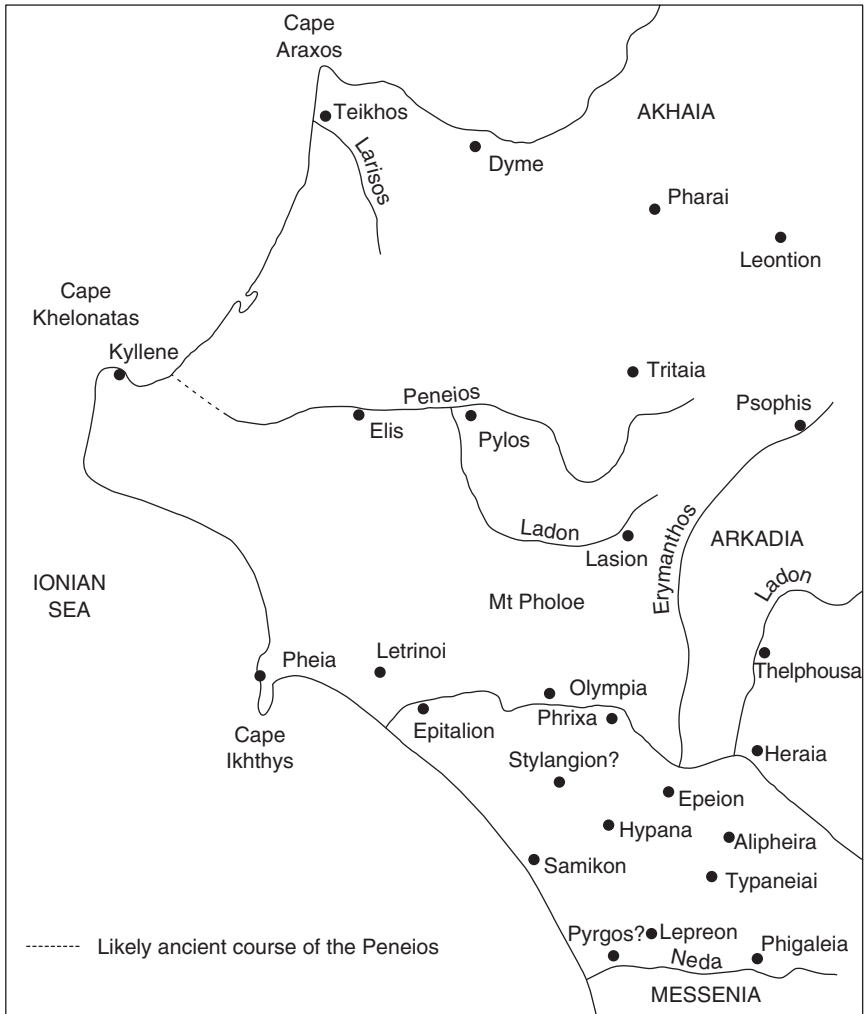
other members of the pro-Makedonian faction. The Aitolian envoy Makhatas was then able to persuade the Lakedaimonians to join in the war against the Akhaians, arguing that this was the only available means of countering the anti-Aitolian faction at Sparta.<sup>10</sup> Polybios adds that the same arguments were used to persuade the Eleians to join in the war.<sup>11</sup> He thus implies that there was a pro-Makedonian faction at Elis, perhaps led by the *strategos* Amphidamos, who was soon to plot with Philip in a failed attempt to win the Eleians over to the Makedonian side.<sup>12</sup>

The Eleians, however, seem to have rejected the views of the pro-Makedonians. Under the Aitolian general Euripidas they soon raided the land of the Dymaia, Pharaia and Tritaia in western Akhaia and, pursued as they were returning to Eleia by the entire citizen forces of these cities, ambushed and defeated them. A few days later Euripidas and the Eleians captured a Dymaian fort near Cape Araxos called Teikhos.<sup>13</sup> The Akhaian League was unable to send help to the Dymaia and other western Akhaia, and could only appeal for aid to Philip, who, since he was busy campaigning in Ambrakia and Akarnania, delayed his reply.<sup>14</sup> Philip was soon obliged to return to Makedonia to prevent a Dardanian invasion, but on his departure promised the Akhaia he would help them next.<sup>15</sup> At about the time of the winter solstice, accordingly, he unexpectedly appeared in force at Korinth, where he summoned the Akhaia to meet up with him and moved into the territory of Phleious.<sup>16</sup> As Philip was arriving in Korinth, Euripidas had unknowingly set out from Psophis with 2,200 infantry and 100 cavalry and marched across northern Arkadia past Pheneos and Stymphalos, planning to descend upon Sikyon (Map 11.1). Hearing that the Makedonians were at Phleious, however, he turned back. When Philip marched towards Kaphyai, the advance guard of the two armies crossed paths at a pass near Stymphalos, and Euripidas rode off to Psophis, leaving his army behind. The Eleian force failed to stand up to the Makedonians, and many were killed or captured.<sup>17</sup> Philip then met up with the Akhaia at Kaphyai, as planned, and marched his army, now 10,000 strong, through Kleitor to Psophis.

The Eleians had only just reinforced this naturally formidable fortress, and Euripidas was there to organise its defence, but Philip, even though it was winter, took the city by assault, and the forces in the citadel surrendered in return for safe conduct. He handed Psophis over to the Akhaia, along with Lasion, which had now been abandoned by its Eleian garrison (Map 12.1).<sup>18</sup> Choosing not to continue westward towards the Peneios valley and the city of Elis,<sup>19</sup> Philip instead proceeded in a generally southerly direction across the tableland of Mount Pholoe towards Olympia.<sup>20</sup> When an Eleian garrison also abandoned a place called Stratos, Philip returned it to the Arkadian Telpousians, whose territory extended from the valley of the Arkadian Ladon River in the east to the Erymanthos in the west. Perhaps for this purpose he made an easterly detour from his route between Lasion and Olympia with a detachment of his forces.<sup>21</sup> Stratos should probably be identified with a site directly across the Ladon from Telpousa, so it may have been acquired in order to provide Philip with a safe alternative route from Olympia to Heraia.<sup>22</sup>

Once he had secured Eleian-occupied Psophis, Lasion and Stratos for the Akhaia, Philip proceeded to Olympia, where he rested for three days.





Map 12.1 The Social War. Created by the author.

‘Advancing into Eleia,’ Polybios informs us, ‘he sent foraging parties into the countryside and took up his quarters at the Artemision. There he received the booty and then moved to the Dioskourion.’<sup>23</sup> Without the recognition that Eleia comprised both the Peneios and Alpheios valleys, scholars could be forgiven for assuming that Philip’s soldiers plundered the valley of the Peneios alone.<sup>24</sup> Their raids, however, are likely to have included the Alpheios valley. Polybios, it is true, has Philip advancing into Eleia (προελθὼν εἰς Ἠλείαν) from Olympia, but may simply have meant to indicate that he moved from the sanctuary into the profane countryside. In his narrative of this campaign, Polybios atypically provides

very few toponyms, only those of Olympia and three places whose locations are unknown to us, the Artemision, the Dioskourion and Thalamai. Aside from that of Artemis Philomeirax in the city of Elis itself,<sup>25</sup> which must be excluded, we know of three Artemisions in Eleia. Leaving the ruins of Harpina and making his way westward towards Olympia, Pausanias passed the ruins of a sanctuary of Artemis Kordax. He also reports a sanctuary of Artemis Alipheiaia/Elaphiaia among the ruins of Letrinoi. A third, Archaic in origin and known to Strabo, was located near the mouth of the Alpheios.<sup>26</sup> Strabo, in fact, discussing the district of the mouth of the Alpheios, informs us that ‘the whole land is full of Artemisions, Aphrodisions and Nymphaions.’<sup>27</sup> There might have been otherwise unreported Artemisions in the valley of the Peneios during Philip’s day, but there is no reason to assume that the one he occupied was situated there. It thus seems likely that Philip made his base at one of those in the lower Alpheios valley, perhaps that of Artemis Alipheiaia in Letrinoi.

It is possible, as Walbank surmises, that the Dioskourion lay further north towards the Peneios valley.<sup>28</sup> The Makedonians, after shifting their base to this sanctuary, acquired a great deal of booty at Thalamai, so called on account of being protected by narrow and difficult approaches.<sup>29</sup> This place is mentioned otherwise only in a passage of Xenophon concerning an episode in the Eleian–Arkadian War of the 360s BC. Here the Eleians from the city, advancing eastward towards Eleian Pylos, happen to fall in with the ‘Pylions’ (that is, the democratic Eleian refugees who had taken refuge there), ‘who had been driven away from Thalamai’.<sup>30</sup> Although scholars have sought in vain to locate this place,<sup>31</sup> if the ‘Pylions’ were intercepted on their way home it cannot have been situated too far either north or south of the point between Elis and Pylos where they met up with the oligarchs from the city. In an invasion of the district adjacent to the Akhaian Dymaia a decade later, Philip was again able to capture enormous numbers of people and animals, making it unlikely that he had thoroughly plundered this district in 219,<sup>32</sup> so perhaps Thalamai lay to the south of the Peneios. We can assume that the area of Eleia which Philip pillaged in 219 BC included the lower Alpheios valley and the parts of the Peneios valley to the south-west of the city of Elis. He may also have advanced into the area to the south-east of the city, but without knowing where Thalamai was located we cannot be sure how far.

After his success at Thalamai, Philip retired once more to Olympia, from where he later set out north-eastward along the road to Pharaia and then turned eastward to Telpousa (most likely via Stratos) and then southward to Heraia.<sup>33</sup> He seems to have taken this circuitous route in order to avoid the risk of driving his captive persons and livestock along the Alpheios valley route, which would have entailed such difficulties as crossing the lower Arkadian Ladon at a time when it was swollen by late-winter rains.<sup>34</sup> Here, too, his encumbered army would have been vulnerable to attacks from nearby fortified positions of the Eleians, such as Epeion and Alipheira. Once in Heraia, Philip disposed of his burdensome booty and repaired the nearby bridge over the Alpheios, intending to invade Triphylia. The Messenians had declined to contribute to the war on the grounds of their vulnerability to Aitolian raids from Phigaleia,<sup>35</sup> but Makedonian possession

of Triphylia would cut off Aitolian access to this fortified position on the upper Neda, secure Messenia from invasion and thus both encourage the Messenians to join in the war on his side and prevent the creation of an unbroken band of anti-Makedonian states in the south and west of the Peloponnese.

The Aitolians responded to an Eleian request for aid against Philip by sending 600 of their own troops under the command of Phillidas, who on arrival also took over a force of about 500 mercenaries, 1,000 Eleians and some cavalry. Phillidas posted the mercenaries at Alipheira and the Eleians at Lepreon, while he himself remained with the Aitolians between these two positions at Typaneiai.<sup>36</sup> Philip crossed the bridge over the Alpheios near Heraia and captured Alipheira, where the mercenaries surrendered the citadel in return for safe passage. The alarmed Triphylians were now ready to go over to Philip, so Phillidas sensibly abandoned Typaneiai and concentrated his relatively meagre forces in Lepreon, where he was joined by some Lakedaimonians. The Typaneians and Hypanians then surrendered to Philip, and the Phigaleians, expelling their Aitolian garrison, did the same. As Philip approached Lepreon, its inhabitants rose against Phillidas' troops, who abandoned the city and, pursued by Philip with his peltasts and light infantry, made for Samikon. This place, too, Philip obliged the Aitolians and Eleians to abandon.<sup>37</sup> He then took possession of Phrixa, Stylangion, Aipion (Epeion), Bolax, Pyrgos and Epitalion, garrisoned the citadel of Lepreon and returned to Heraia.<sup>38</sup>

Philip did not turn Triphylia over to the Akhaians, but kept it for himself, leaving an officer in charge. Nor did he attack the city of Elis, perhaps because the needs of his allies had been sufficiently met: the Messenians, since the Aitolians could no longer raid Messenia from Phigaleia and Eleian territory no longer reached to the Neda, could now feel free to join in the war on Philip's side;<sup>39</sup> Eleia was surrounded by enemy territory; and the Eleian fortified positions commanding all of the approaches to Akhaian territory, apart from those adjoining Dymaia in the north, were in the hands of either the Makedonians or the Akhaians, as was Phigaleia, the former Aitolian outpost on the road to Megalopolis.<sup>40</sup> Philip may also have hoped to win over the Eleians by diplomacy rather than conquest. At Thalamai, along with 200 mercenaries, he had captured the Eleian *strategos* Amphidamos. Once Philip brought him to Olympia, Amphidamos had claimed that he could persuade the Eleians to become the king's allies, and Philip had sent him to Elis to promise the Eleians that if they joined him he would return all the captured men and animals, prevent any attacks on their country and leave them free to enjoy their own constitution. Amphidamos, however, had failed to persuade the Eleians to accept these proposals.<sup>41</sup> During the next summer, Philip marched from Argos through Akhaia to Dyme, where he recaptured the fort of Teikhos and returned it to the Akhaians, thereby depriving the Eleians of the last of their advance posts. He then plundered the districts of Eleia neighbouring on Dymaia, but seems to have returned to Dyme without approaching the city of Elis itself.<sup>42</sup> Again, the Makedonians may have hoped to win over the Eleians to their side, since Amphidamos, when the Eleians moved to arrest him on suspicion of having pro-Makedonian designs, fled to Philip at Dyme. Philip soon returned to Argos for the remainder of the winter, apparently giving up any prospect of winning over the Eleians.<sup>43</sup>

Philip's capture of the Eleian and Aitolian advance posts of Teikhos, Psophis, Lasion, Stratos, Alipheira and Phigaleia, along with the Triphylian cities, suggests that he intended to contain the Eleians within their own borders and cut off their communications with their allies.<sup>44</sup> It soon occurred to him, however, that this could not be achieved while his enemies controlled the sea routes, so in the summer of 218 BC he assembled a fleet at Lekhaion and sailed to Patrai with 6,000 Makedonians and 12,000 mercenaries on board.<sup>45</sup> At this, the Aitolians sent two officers, Agelaos and Skopas, to Elis with 500 soldiers from Krete, and the Eleians, fearing that Philip would besiege Kyllene, collected mercenaries, prepared their citizen force and strengthened the fortifications of the port. Philip, however, hoped first to cut the sea connection between Elis and Aitolia, so leaving certain forces in Dyme for protection against the Eleians he sailed off to make war on the Kephallenians, whose ships the Aitolians were using to cross to the Peloponnese.<sup>46</sup> Philip was unsuccessful, however, in taking their main city by siege, and instead invaded Aitolia and plundered Thermos, the religious and political centre of the Aitolian League.<sup>47</sup>

In the meantime, the Spartan king Lykourgos had invaded Messenia, but now withdrew and made an unsuccessful attempt on Tegea. Philip responded by plundering Lakonia, but, as earlier with Elis, did not attempt to conquer the city of Sparta itself.<sup>48</sup> Neither this campaign nor his earlier invasion of Eleia seems to have deterred the Peloponnesian allies of the Aitolians from continuing the war. While Philip was in Lakonia, forces from Elis, probably including the Aitolians, raided Dymaia and ambushed the cavalry which came out to oppose them.<sup>49</sup> The Aitolians now sent the Eleians a new general, Pyrrhias, who with a combined force of Aitolians and Eleians laid waste the countryside of Dyme, Pharai and Patrai and continued on towards Rhion and Aigion, causing consternation among the Akhaians.<sup>50</sup> Pyrrhias and Lykourgos also made arrangements for a concerted invasion of Messenia, but while the Spartans moved into Messenia, Pyrrhias was rebuffed at Kyparissia and returned home, causing Lykourgos to do the same.<sup>51</sup>

The Akhaians responded to this campaign by taking measures to both protect Messenia and secure their own borders with the Eleians.<sup>52</sup> The Eleians, dissatisfied with Pyrrhias, then persuaded the Aitolians to send back Euripidas in his place. Euripidas, passing by Pharai, plundered Akhaia as far as Aigion. As the forces from Elis retreated through Arkadia towards Leontion, however, they were attacked and defeated by a mercenary force under the command of the Akhaian Lykos.<sup>53</sup> Polybios reports that Lykos' men killed 400 of their enemies and took about 2,000 of them prisoner, but this figure is greater than the 60 cavalry and 2,000 infantry that he says Euripidas led out of Elis, so it seems exaggerated.<sup>54</sup> Euripidas' forces cannot have been irreparably weakened, moreover, since he soon crossed the frontier again to begin pillaging. In response, the Akhaians invaded Eleia and ambushed the whole force of the Eleians at a place called Phyxion, killing 200 and capturing 80.<sup>55</sup> By 217 BC, however, Philip had commenced peace negotiations with the Aitolians, and a campaign in which he captured a fort near Lasion seems designed simply to improve his negotiating position.<sup>56</sup> The Makedonians and their allies soon made peace with the Aitolians

on the basis that both sides would keep what they possessed at the time, and we can assume that they also made peace with the Eleians and Spartans.<sup>57</sup> The Eleians had thus survived the war against the Makedonians with the loss of only some recently acquired territory, and they seem to have managed to remain independent under their own constitution.

## **Hellenistic Eleia**

During the Early Iron Age, cattle of various kinds appear to have grazed upon open pastureland across the valleys of the Alpheios and Peneios. While evidence from Xenophon, Polybios and Livy testifies to the enduring significance of pastoralism for the Eleian economy, a passage of Aristotle confirms that by historical times the land had been divided into well-defined holdings.<sup>58</sup> Polybios recounts that late in 219 Philip V, advancing from Olympia, ‘sent foraging parties into the countryside’. There his forces took possession of a great quantity of moveable property and vast numbers of both people and cattle. As shown above, however, any assumption that Philip plundered the Peneios valley alone is entirely unwarranted.<sup>59</sup> This observation encourages us to re-examine the further remarks which Polybios makes, in a digression from this narrative, about certain aspects of Eleian life and history:

The countryside of the Eleians happened to be more densely populated and more full of people and moveable property than the rest of the Peloponnese. For some of them are so fond of the life in the fields that for two or three generations, although having sufficient property, they have not come near the assembly at all. And this happens because of the great trouble and foresight of those who do take part in political life to ensure both that justice is prescribed on location to those who live in the countryside and that they are not left without the necessities of life.<sup>60</sup>

Polybios goes on to explain that in earlier times the Eleians could conceive of and legislate for these provisions for two reasons: because of the large extent of their territory; and because their traditionally sacred status had left them free from invasion. In the second of these explanations he seems to be indicating that because their sacred inviolability had freed the Eleians of earlier times from any fear of external aggression, defensive requirements had not obliged them to live together in the city. This way of life, he implies, had persisted even after they had forfeited their sacred status.<sup>61</sup> From his first explanation, on the other hand, it would appear that on account of the fact that certain of the Eleians lived a considerable distance from the political centre the state had allowed them to absent themselves from the assembly, made provision for local access to justice and supplied them with some other services expected of it. Now if the extent of Eleian territory were a significant cause of the willingness of the state to exempt certain Eleians from the obligation to attend the assembly, one would naturally assume that those concerned lived furthest from the city of Elis. The most likely of these non-urban Eleians to be

exempted, accordingly, are the members of the communities of the Alpheios valley and the coastal districts, such as the inhabitants of the ports of Pheia and Kyllene, while the least likely are those who lived on estates in the plain of the Peneios, close to the city.

The term *χώρα*, translated above as ‘countryside’, can be understood to indicate all the components of the *polis* apart from the main urban centre itself. It would make little sense if Polybios were claiming that those who farmed the land around the towns of the *χώρα* alone were made exempt, since the homes of the town-dwellers would have been just as far from the centre of the *polis*, so we would expect the townspeople to have enjoyed the same rights of exemption and the same access to local justice as the rurally-located citizens. While Polybios reports that many of the Eleians lived in the countryside and that those who did so had local access to justice, nevertheless, we must keep in mind that it was only those who were motivated by a fondness for *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν βίος* (‘the life in the fields’) who stayed away from the assembly. What Polybios does not suggest is that the townspeople habitually took advantage of this exemption, and they may have attended assembly meetings in considerable numbers while only the farmers, and just some of them at that, stayed away.

We can infer from this passage that from the synoikism of 471 BC until at least the late third century BC some, if not all, of the Eleian demes retained jurisdiction over legal disputes between their members, and an inscription from the period of the synoikism confirms that the various communities which had become the demes of the Eleian *polis* retained their own magistrates at that time.<sup>62</sup> Another inference we can draw is that the farmers of these outlying communities were prepared to trust those citizens who did attend the assembly to make decisions on their behalf. The fact that attendance at a popular assembly rather than participation in a ruling council is at issue here, along with the location of the lands of these farmers in the Alpheios valley and other outlying areas, where properties would probably have been more modest than those of the great plain of the Peneios,<sup>63</sup> suggests that the citizens who chose to stay at home despite being entitled to attend the assembly were small to medium landholders rather than the members of a wealthy aristocracy.

We also need to consider the implications of the phrase *ἔχοντας ἱκανὰς οὐσίας*, translated above as ‘although having sufficient property’. Although ‘sufficient’ is the primary meaning of *ἱκανός*, this phrase could also be translated ‘because they had a good deal of property’, so it might seem that Polybios meant to indicate that these men were substantial landowners, which would imply that those closer to the city with whom they entrusted the formulation of political decisions were their fellow aristocrats.<sup>64</sup> Their possession of a good deal of property, however, does not seem an appropriate explanation as to why certain citizens would have absented themselves from the assembly. The possession of *sufficient* property, on the other hand, seems very fitting as an indication of the fact that the people concerned, even though they chose not to, were entitled to attend. The considerations outlined above, moreover, make it likely that these citizens met only a minimal property qualification for participation in the assembly. This would suggest that the Eleian

constitution at the end of the third century BC was a moderate democracy. Further evidence also implies that the constitution was at least relatively democratic in this period. Philip V's undertaking in 219 BC that if the Eleians became his allies he would not interfere with their constitution strongly implies that they had reason to feel anxious that this might occur.<sup>65</sup> Since Philip was in alliance with an Akhaian League which was actively promoting oligarchy at the time, we may assume that the constitution he offered to guarantee was a popular one. We should tentatively assume, contrary to the usual conclusion drawn from this evidence, that at the time of Philip's invasion a popular form of government established after the overthrow half a century earlier of the oligarchs who had deposed the tyrant Aristotimos was still in place.<sup>66</sup>

The existence of a wealthy, well-stocked countryside, we must keep in mind, need not imply oligarchic government, since when during the Eleian War of 402–400 BC the Lakedaimonians and their allies under Agis II captured vast numbers of cattle and slaves, the constitution was democratic and the city dwellers, in particular, seem to have favoured democracy.<sup>67</sup> The men from the *khora*, whether townspeople or farmers, who attended the assembly in Elis must have joined a substantial urban population. In the Classical period, as Yalouris explains, 'Elis had become one of the largest and most populated cities in the Peloponnese'. The 'remarkable expansion' of the city, when a great number of public buildings, temples and sanctuaries were built, seems to have begun with the synoikism of 471 BC.<sup>68</sup> During the Eleian War at the turn of the fourth century, Agis did harm to the suburbs (*προάστια*) and the beautiful *gymnasia*, so Elis seems by then to have become both extensive and wealthy.<sup>69</sup> In later times the city 'exceptionally spacious and without surrounding walls, also spread to the right bank of the Peneios'.<sup>70</sup>

The description of Pausanias, augmented by the relevant archaeological evidence, confirms this picture of fairly steady growth over the half millennium following the synoikism. Visiting Elis early in the Roman Imperial period, Pausanias describes an expansive city centre which could boast a considerable number of impressive structures. The most significant of these appear to have been: the three *gymnasia* (the 'old', the 'square' and the 'soft'); the *bouleuterion* of the Eleians, situated inside the soft *gymnasion*; accommodation for the *hellenodikai*; the baths; two very substantial stoas, known as 'the southern' and 'the Kerkyraian'; and an 'old' theatre. Aside from these secular buildings, there was also a splendid array of sanctuaries, temples, altars and images devoted to most of the main gods of the Greeks, together with some less well-known deities. In the square *gymnasion* stood a statue of Zeus, who was also worshipped at temporary altars regularly set up in the southern stoa and the *agora*. In the most crowded part of the city was a life-size bronze of Poseidon. The old *gymnasion* contained altars of Demeter and Persephone. Behind the Kerkyraian stoa could be found a temple of Aphrodite and within that a chryselephantine statue of Aphrodite Ourania, the work of Pheidias, along with a precinct of Aphrodite Pandemos containing a bronze statue of the goddess riding a male goat, created by Skorpas. On the akropolis was a sanctuary of Athena, with its own chryselephantine image by Pheidias.



A temple and statue of Apollo the Healer stood in the *agora*, and on the 'Street of Silence' a sanctuary of Artemis Philomeirax. Near the old theatre was a shrine of Dionysos, with a statue by Praxiteles. There was a sacred enclosure of Hades in the city, containing a temple opened only once a year. The *agora* was also embellished by stone anthropomorphic images of the sun and moon, a sanctuary of the Graces with statues of them and Eros, a temple of Silenos containing a representation of Methe ('intoxication') handing him a cup of wine and a low, temple-like structure said to be the tomb of Oxylos. A sanctuary of Tykhe contained a stoa, within which stood a colossal statue, and Sosipolis was also worshipped there in a small, painted shrine. The old *gymnasion* held an altar of Idaian Herakles, and the soft *gymnasion* a bust of the other Herakles. In this same *gymnasion* were also altars of Eros and Eros Requited, both of whom appeared again on a relief in the soft *gymnasion*, and a memorial for Akhilles, whose tomb was supposed to be located on one of the two ways from the old *gymnasion* to the *agora*. Next to the *agora* stood a neglected temple of the Roman emperors.<sup>71</sup>

Pausanias implies that the Kerkyraian stoa was so called because it was built from the spoils of a retaliatory raid on Kerkyra after the Kerkyraians had damaged Kyllene during the prelude to the Arkhidamian War.<sup>72</sup> Excavations of the site have shown, however, that the building he describes was constructed no earlier than the first century AD. While no trace seems to remain of an earlier stoa on the site, Mitsopoulos-Leon notes the possibility that a mud brick stoa had collapsed during the dramatic earthquake of 40 BC and been replaced soon afterwards by the building in stone seen by Pausanias.<sup>73</sup> Eleia, indeed was not naturally endowed with stone suitable for building, so it is highly likely that in earlier times abundant use was made of alternative materials.<sup>74</sup> Considering the extent to which the region was a source of quality timber, however, earlier buildings in Elis may have been constructed of wood as well as mud brick.<sup>75</sup> Pausanias notes, indeed, a low structure in the form of a temple, with its roof supported by pillars of oak. This was reputed to have been a tomb, perhaps that of Oxylos, though none of Pausanias' informers seems to have been certain, and it may have been quite ancient.<sup>76</sup>

At least as significant, however, is Pausanias' description of the layout of the *agora*, not in the later Ionian style, but in the more ancient manner, with the stoas separated from each other and roads running between them, and in general, it seems, irregular rather than symmetrical.<sup>77</sup> Despite the later date of the stoas seen by Pausanias, Mitsopoulos-Leon concludes, 'the importance of the *agora* of Elis as an example of a naturally grown Classical *agora*' is enhanced rather than diminished by his description, since he claims, not that it was old, but created 'according to an older fashion'.<sup>78</sup> The irregular layout of the Eleian *agora*, more open and more intersected by roads than the intentionally designed cities of later times, may have appeared this way because it followed the pattern of an earlier city built mainly of timber and mud bricks which had developed more or less arbitrarily over the centuries and whose buildings by Pausanias' time had been largely replaced by stone structures built on the same sites. This picture of ongoing growth is also suggested by the dates which we can ascribe to some of its features. Xenophon, reporting King Agis' campaign of 401 BC, records that he did

some damage to the suburbs and the beautiful *gymnasia*, so by then at least two of these had been built, and in some style.<sup>79</sup> Of the three sculptors Pausanias says created significant statues at Elis, Pheidias comes from the mid-fifth century BC, Skorpas from the first half of the fourth century and Praxiteles from the mid-fourth century.<sup>80</sup> Around 300 BC, too, the inhabitants began to construct a monumental theatre, which was expanded in a later phase.<sup>81</sup> The evidence we have thus indicates that the city centre experienced regular phases of growth throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

The lack of building stone in Eleia also suggests that residential buildings were largely constructed of mud brick and/or timber, the remains of which would not be easy to detect today. While the current archaeological site covers a wide area of the plain adjacent to the ancient *agora* (Figure 12.1), much work remains to be done on both this and the akropolis. It thus seems reasonable to conclude that the population of Hellenistic Elis was comparable to that of other cities of the period which possessed a central precinct of similar proportions and that the city accommodated a large and diverse urban population pursuing a wide range of occupations. While it is entirely conceivable that a wealthy landed aristocracy could have imposed an oligarchical form of government upon a *polis* consisting of a city of these proportions, as well as a good number of other centres (including two significant ports and a highly impressive sanctuary) and a substantial citizen population living ‘the life in the fields’, there



*Figure 12.1* The archaeological site of ancient Elis, stretching from left middle ground to right middle ground. Photo courtesy of the author.

is little to suggest that this actually occurred. During the second century BC, nonetheless, an external power succeeded in obliging the inhabitants of Eleia to acquiesce in adopting such a constitution.

### The Eleians and the Romans

When in the summer of 211 BC the Aitolians concluded an alliance with the Romans directed against Philip V, it was envisaged that the Eleians and Lakedaimonians might join on the same terms.<sup>82</sup> A speech recorded by Livy in which, during the winter that followed, an Aitolian envoy urges the Lakedaimonians to adhere to this alliance reveals that the Eleians (along with the Messenians, whose new democratic leadership had resisted Makedonian attempts at intervention in 214–213 BC) were already allies of the Aitolians.<sup>83</sup> Perhaps it was soon after this that the Eleians admitted an Aitolian garrison into their city.<sup>84</sup> By 209 BC Philip found it necessary to send a force to help protect the Akhaians from the Lakedaimonians and Aitolians,<sup>85</sup> and in 208, while moving to expel the Aitolians from Elis, he joined with an Akhaian force at Dyme. The combined forces crossed the Larisos into Eleia, defeated and killed the Eleian cavalry commander Damophantos and approached the city of Elis, sending the cavalry forward to provoke the Aitolians into coming out against them. A Roman force of 4,000 men under the command of Sulpicius, however, had already entered Elis by night. Philip was wounded in fighting outside the city, and his defeated force withdrew to a position about seven kilometres from Elis. He was, nevertheless, able to take a nearby fortress called Pyrgos, where he captured a great number of rural dwellers with their livestock. Philip was soon called away to defend Makedonia, but left a force behind to help his allies.<sup>86</sup>

After Philip's departure, conflict continued in the Peloponnese. The Akhaians defeated the Aitolians and Eleians near Messene, and perhaps around this time the Aitolians captured Heraia.<sup>87</sup> In 207 BC Philip seems to have undertaken to return Alipheira to direct Megalopolitan control and to hand Triphylia over to the Akhaian League. He also appears to have promised to give back Heraia to the Akhaians,<sup>88</sup> so perhaps his forces had recently retrieved this place from the Aitolians. In the same year the Akhaian general Philopoimen defeated the Lakedaimonians at Mantinea,<sup>89</sup> and the Aitolians soon made their peace with Philip. In 205 BC, however, when Philip and his allies concluded the Peace of Phoinike with the Romans and their allies, the Eleians, Messenians and Lakedaimonians were included among the latter,<sup>90</sup> so they must have continued the war after the Aitolians had come to terms. Again, it seems, the Eleians had managed to survive a war with their core territory in the Alpheios and Peneios valleys intact and their constitution unaltered: remarkably, in other words, they had managed to remain both *eleutheroi* and *autonomoi*. In one sense, however, their foreign relations had changed irretrievably: for the first time, a Roman force had played a direct role in Eleian affairs.

From the outset of the Second Makedonian War (200–197 BC) the Aitolian League fought alongside the Romans, and in 198 BC most members of the Akhaian League also joined them.<sup>91</sup> The Messenians and most likely the Eleians, too,

remained allied to the Romans,<sup>92</sup> so we hear only a little about events in the western Peloponnese during this war. In the winter of 199/198 BC Philip sent ambassadors to Akhaia, partly to restore Orkhamenos, Heraia and Triphylia, the last of which had been taken from the Eleians, to the Akhaians, and Alipheira to the Megalopolitans.<sup>93</sup> We have already heard that Philip restored Heraia and Triphylia to the Akhaians and Alipheira to the Megalopolitans during the earlier war, but he seems merely to have *endeavoured* to return them in 207, and military contingencies may have intervened.<sup>94</sup> Philip, it appears, sent these ambassadors to the Akhaians in an unsuccessful attempt to dissuade them, partly by means of fulfilling his earlier undertaking, from entering the war on the Roman side. The Roman commissioners sent to Greece to finalise the details of the peace at the end of the war, despite the counterclaims of the Eleians to Triphylia and the Aitolians to Heraia during earlier negotiations in Rome, announced at the Isthmos in 196 BC that both Triphylia and Heraia would belong to the Akhaians,<sup>95</sup> thereby confirming the status quo recently established by Philip.

The Eleians had thus failed to regain Triphylia and so, like the Aitolians, became dissatisfied with the outcome of their Roman alliance.<sup>96</sup> When Antiokhos arrived in Greece in 192 BC, accordingly, both these peoples joined him against the Romans and their allies. Antiokhos answered an Eleian request for protection from the Akhaians by sending 1,000 infantry, most likely Kretans, but neither they nor the Eleians seem to have taken an active part in the war.<sup>97</sup> In the same year the Akhaians defeated the Lakedaimonians and incorporated them into their League, so by the time of Antiokhos' defeat at Thermopylai in 191 only two Peloponnesian peoples remained outside the League, the Messenians and the Eleians, both still loyal to the Aitolians.<sup>98</sup> The Akhaians sent envoys to each of these, suggesting that they join their League. There was clearly an implied threat behind this invitation, since when the Messenians refused to accept, the Akhaians besieged Messene. Flamininus intervened to end the siege, but ordered the Messenians to join up anyway.<sup>99</sup> The Eleians, rather than refusing outright, replied that they would consider joining the League when the king's garrison had been withdrawn.<sup>100</sup> In the presence of Flamininus and the consul Manius Acilius Glabrio at Aigion, the council of the Akhaian League discussed the question of the Eleians' entry, but they responded by announcing that they would rather a decision to join came from themselves than from the Romans.<sup>101</sup>

Soon afterwards the Eleians seem indeed to have become enrolled: in 189 BC the consul M. Fulvius Nobilior summoned a council, most likely that of the League, to meet at Elis;<sup>102</sup> in 187 Philopoimen dispatched as Akhaian League envoy to Rome one Nikodemos of Elis, who later reported to the Akhaian synod,<sup>103</sup> and an inscription which Pausanias saw at Megalopolis honoured Diophanes, the Akhaian besieger of Messene, for bringing the entire Peloponnese into the League.<sup>104</sup> By 189 BC, it thus seems, the Eleians had been obliged to surrender their independence.<sup>105</sup> Entry into the Akhaian League may also have put an end to their democracy, since, as reports of internal conflicts in both Sparta and Messene suggest, the League continued to promote oligarchy among its members.<sup>106</sup> By 172 BC, on the other hand, we find the Eleians, along with the Messenians, complaining to the Romans about their incorporation into the League,<sup>107</sup> so they were not left entirely without a voice of their own.

Perhaps some Eleians were among the Akhaian League forces which joined the Romans against the Makedonian king Perseus in the Third Makedonian War (171–168 BC).<sup>108</sup> When the League defied the Romans in 146 BC, the Eleians (like the Messenians) seem to have stayed at home on the pretext of having to guard their coasts against possible Roman attacks. From the spoils of his victory over the Akhaians, the victorious Roman general Mummius placed 21 golden shields on the exterior of the temple of Zeus at Olympia and dedicated two statues of Zeus there.<sup>109</sup> After their victory the Romans dissolved the Akhaian League into its various constituent communities, which were then placed under the supervision of the pro-consul of Makedonia. The political entities of the Peloponnese now belonged to one of two categories: those which had opposed the Romans became their subjects; and those which had stood apart, such as the Spartans, continued to be treated as nominally free Roman allies.<sup>110</sup> The Eleians seem to have fallen into the second category and to have been rewarded for their inactivity by finally regaining the district of Triphylia. The Eleian *polis*, however, was no longer free to conduct its own foreign policy, and wherever democratic government had persisted in Greece the Romans replaced it with oligarchy.<sup>111</sup> The independent history of the Eleians had now come to an end, and the ancient Eleian *damos* would never again free itself from oligarchic rule.<sup>112</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Polyb. 4.26.1, 31.1.
- 2 Polyb. 4.34.1; Walbank 1957, 482–3.
- 3 Polyb. 4.6.8–12, 9.9.
- 4 Polyb. 4.9.10.
- 5 Polyb. 4.10.1–13.5.
- 6 Polyb. 4.13.6–7. For a narrative of this war, Hammond and Walbank 1988, 371–89.
- 7 Polyb. 4.16.6–19.13, 21.12; Swoboda 1905, 2412.
- 8 Paus. 6.16.3; cf. Walbank 1940, 19 n.1.
- 9 Scholten 2000, 209 n.16.
- 10 Polyb. 4.34.1–36.6.
- 11 Polyb. 4.36.6.
- 12 Polyb. 4.75.6, 84.2–6, 86.3–4; cf. Walbank 1940, 21, 49.
- 13 Polyb. 4.59.1–5; Walbank 1957, 514.
- 14 Polyb. 4.60.1–10, 64.1–3, cf. 61.1–63.11.
- 15 Polyb. 4.66.2, cf. 64.3–66.1.
- 16 Polyb. 4.66.5–7, 67.6–9.
- 17 Polyb. 4.68.1–69.1. Some inscriptions from Stymphalos suggest, however, that the captives were later ransomed: Walbank 1957, 523.
- 18 Polyb. 4.70.1–73.2.
- 19 This volume, p. 7.
- 20 For Philip's likely route, Pritchett 1989, 33–4.
- 21 Polyb. 4.73.2; Paus. 8.24.4–25.4, 12; Walbank 1957, 525; Pritchett 1989, 31–2; Nielsen 2004, 533–4.
- 22 Pritchett 1989, 37–41.
- 23 Polyb. 4.73.2–5.
- 24 This volume, pp. 10–11, 17–21, 58–61. Leake 1830 II, 186, for example, makes this assumption.
- 25 Paus. 6.23.8.
- 26 Strabo 8.3.12; Paus. 6.22.1, 8–11.

- 27 Strabo 8.3.12.
- 28 Walbank 1957, 525.
- 29 Polyb. 4.75.2–8.
- 30 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.26; this volume, p. 194.
- 31 Walbank 1957, 527; Pritchett 1989, 76.
- 32 Livy 27.31.9–32.1; this volume, p. 231.
- 33 Polyb. 4.75.8, 77.5.
- 34 Pritchett 1989, 40–1.
- 35 Polyb. 5.4.5; cf. 4.36.8.
- 36 Polyb. 4.77.5–78.1; Paus. 8.26.5.
- 37 Polyb. 4.78.2–80.12.
- 38 Polyb. 4.80.13–16; Pritchett 1989, 64–78.
- 39 Polyb. 5.4.5; cf. Hammond and Walbank 1988, 377.
- 40 Paus. 8.36.9–37.1, 38.1, 39.1.
- 41 Polyb. 4.75.5–6, 84.2–6.
- 42 Polyb. 4.82.1, 7, 83.1–5.
- 43 Polyb. 4.86.3–4, 13.
- 44 As Hammond and Walbank 1988, 376–7, cf. 387 observe, Philip seems to have employed the same strategy of encirclement against the Aitolians, and the Spartans, too, were now ‘isolated and encircled’.
- 45 Polyb. 5.2.1–4, 11; cf. Hammond and Walbank 1988, 377–8.
- 46 Polyb. 5.3.1–10; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 379.
- 47 Polyb. 5.4.1–13, 5.11–9.10, 13.1–14.12; Freitag *et al.* 2004, 381.
- 48 Polyb. 5.5.1–2, 11, 17.1–24.10.
- 49 Polyb. 5.17.3–4; Walbank 1957, 553.
- 50 Polyb. 5.30.1–7.
- 51 Polyb. 5.92.1–6. Pyrrhios, if he went by land, would have had to pass close to Samikon and march through Lepreatis on his way to and from Kyparissia, yet Philip seems to have retained these places until at least 207 BC, so perhaps he went by sea: Livy 28.8.6; 32.5.4–5; cf. 33.34.9; Polyb. 18.42.7, 47.10; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 389, 405 with n.1.
- 52 Polyb. 5.92.7–10.
- 53 Polyb. 5.94.1–6.
- 54 Cf. Walbank and Habicht 2011, 247 n.173.
- 55 Polyb. 5.95.5–10.
- 56 Polyb. 5.102.6; Swoboda 1905, 2413.
- 57 Polyb. 5.103.7; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 388.
- 58 Arist. *Pol.* 6.2.5, 1319a.12–14; cf. 6.2.1–6, 1318b.7–1319a.19; Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26; Polyb. 4.73.6–9; Livy 27.31.9–32.1; this volume, pp. 11–12, 100–1.
- 59 Polyb. 4.73.2–6, 75.1–8; Livy 27.31.9–32.11; this volume, pp. 221–3.
- 60 Polyb. 4.73.6–8. Walbank 1957, 526–7 assumes that the term *ἀλία* indicates a central law court, but in the Peloponnese it signified a popular assembly: e.g. Hdt. 7.134.2; Arist. *Pol.* 5.1.6, 1301b.23. The translation ‘although having sufficient property’ is discussed below.
- 61 Polyb. 4.73.9–10; this volume, pp. 116–19.
- 62 Minon 20 = *IvO* 2; this volume, pp. 98–9; cf. Osborne 1987, 126.
- 63 Cf. Gehrke 1986, 104.
- 64 This could be assumed, e.g. from the Loeb translation of Paton, Walbank and Habicht 2010: ‘though men of substance’; cf. Walbank 1957, 526. For a fairly recent expression of this assumption, see Roy 2008, 267–8.
- 65 Polyb. 4.75.5–6, 84.2–6; this volume, p. 224.
- 66 This volume, p. 211.
- 67 This volume, pp. 156, 163–5.
- 68 Yalouris 1996, 104.



- 69 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.26–7; this volume, pp. 156–7.
- 70 Philippon 1905, 2432; Strabo 8.3.2.
- 71 Paus. 6.23.1–26.3. Mitsopoulos-Leon 2005, 258–68 discusses the light that certain archaeological finds shed on the features of these shrines and cult statues.
- 72 Thuc. 1.27.30, 46; Paus. 6.24.4–5; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1982, 247.
- 73 Mitsopoulos-Leon 1982, 249, cf. 245–8.
- 74 Philippon 1905, 2432; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1982, 245; 1991, 321.
- 75 This volume, p. 14.
- 76 Paus. 6.24.9.
- 77 Paus. 6.24.2; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1982, 250.
- 78 Mitsopoulos-Leon 1982, 251.
- 79 Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27; this volume, pp. 156–7.
- 80 Paus. 6.25.1, 26.1, 3.
- 81 Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1991, 321–4.
- 82 Polyb. 9.30.7, 39.1–3; 11.5.5; Livy 26.24.1–14; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 400–1.
- 83 Polyb. 9.30.6, cf. 16.13.3; Swoboda 1905, 2413–4; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 396–7, 403.
- 84 Livy 27.31.9.
- 85 Livy 27.29.9.
- 86 Livy 27.31.9–32.11; Plut. *Phil.* 7.6; Paus. 8.49.7; Zoumbaki 2005, 139.17.
- 87 Polyb. 18.42.7; Livy 27.33.5; cf. 28.8.6; 32.5.4–5.
- 88 Livy 28.8.6.
- 89 Polyb. 11.11.1–18.10; Livy 29.12.1; Plut. *Phil.* 10.1–11.1; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 407.
- 90 Livy 29.12.14.
- 91 Livy 32.19.1–23.1; Plut. *Flam.* 5.3; Swoboda 1905, 2415. On this war in general, Hammond and Walbank 1988, 416–28.
- 92 Polyb. 18.42.7; Livy 34.32.16; Swoboda 1905, 2415; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 603.
- 93 Livy 32.5.4–5.
- 94 Swoboda 1905, 2414; *contra* Hammond and Walbank 1988, 405 n.1.
- 95 Polyb. 18.42.7, 47.10; cf. Livy 33.34.9; Swoboda 1905, 2415.
- 96 Plut. *Flam.* 9.1–5, 10.1; Swoboda 1905, 2415.
- 97 Polyb. 20.3.1; Livy 36.5.1–3; 42.37.8; Plut. *Flam.* 15.1–2; Swoboda 1905, 2415.
- 98 Livy 36.31.2; Plut. *Phil.* 15.2–3.
- 99 Livy 36.31.1–9.
- 100 Livy 36.31.3. Perhaps this garrison consisted of the Kretans sent by Antiokhos.
- 101 Livy 36.35.7.
- 102 Livy 38.32.1–3; Swoboda 1905, 2416.
- 103 Polyb. 22.3.4, 7.5–7; Walbank 1979, 178.
- 104 Paus. 8.30.5; cf. Livy 36.31.6–7.
- 105 Swoboda 1905, 2416.
- 106 Sparta: Polyb. 21.1.1–4; 22.3.1–2, 7.5–7; 23.4.1–16, 5.18, 6.1–3, 9.1, 4, 8–15, 17.5–18.5; 24.1.1, 4–5, 2.1–2, 9.14; Livy 35.37.1–3; 38.30.6–34.9; 39.33.5–6, 35.5–37.21, 48.2–4; Plut. *Phil.* 15.2–16.4. Messene: Polyb. 22.10.5–6; 23.5.1–18, 9.1, 12, 14, 12.1–9, 16.1–17.4; 24.1.6–7, 2.3–5, 9.12–13; Livy 36.31.9; 39.48.5–50.9; 40.20.3; Plut. *Phil.* 18.1–20.3.
- 107 Livy 42.37.9.
- 108 Swoboda 1905, 2416. On this war, Hammond and Walbank 1988, 505–69.
- 109 Polyb. 38.16.2–3; Paus. 5.10.5, 24.4, 8; Swoboda 1905, 2416; Roy 2013, 466.
- 110 Cartledge 1989, 90; Spawforth 1989, 93.
- 111 Paus. 7.16.9; cf. Shipley 2000, 385.
- 112 Swoboda 1905, 2416, 2430–2. Roy 2008, 263–6 notes the scarcity of evidence for Eleian political history from 146 BC.



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# Conclusion

Those scholars who doubt that in early times the Eleians took control of Olympia from the people of a polity called 'Pisa' led by a certain Pantaleon and his sons seem correct. A revision of Archaic Peloponnesian chronology suggests, however, that the relevant reports were inspired by actual persons and events of the late Archaic period and the first decade of the Classical. If so, they would seem to indicate that during the decades around the turn of the fifth century BC a popular movement among the Eleians concentrated in the Alpheios valley and the coastal districts of the region had challenged the authority of the aristocratically based Olympic Council. By means of the synoikism of 471 BC which followed, the various Eleian *poleis* became the demes of a single, democratic *polis* and established their political centre at the settlement beside the Peneios later known as Elis. The Lakedaimonians seem to have tolerated this democracy because the Eleians stayed out of the conflicts between the Peloponnesian states which took place during the following decades. The Eleians also aligned themselves with the Corinthians, allies of the Lakedaimonians, on account of their shared interests in north-western Greece, and ultimately joined the Lakedaimonian-led alliance in the Arkhidamian War.

The two decades following the swearing of the Peace of Nikias between the Athenian and Lakedaimonian alliances in 421 BC, nevertheless, were characterised by the persistent (though patient) and ultimately successful attempt of a powerful faction in Sparta to impose oligarchical government upon the peoples of Eleia. This attempt began with Spartan support for the revolt of the Lepreans from the Eleians, most likely following an oligarchic coup in Lepreon. Although the Eleians soon regained Lepreon, the Lakedaimonians made no further move against them until after they had defeated the Athenians in the Dekelean War. The Eleian War of 402–400 BC was one manifestation of the determination of the members of a Spartan faction led by King Agis to ensure that all the Greek cities were ruled by narrow oligarchies. Our sources record that the Spartans were angry with the Eleians because of events which sprang from the dispute over Lepreon and so delivered an ultimatum demanding that they allow their *perioikoi* to become autonomous. Their true objective in regard to the Eleians, however, appears to have been to 'bring them to their senses', a phrase which implies the imposition of oligarchy. Although the ancient texts which deal with the results

of the war make no statement about the fate of the Eleian oligarchic exiles who had taken the Spartan side, there is good reason to believe that they returned to Elis soon after the war. Further evidence suggests that the democratic constitution of the Eleians was now replaced by a narrow oligarchy based upon the Spartan model, and the other polities established in the region at this time appear to have suffered a similar fate.

From the end of the Eleian War until the Spartan defeat at the battle of Leuktra in 371 BC, all the states in the region remained loyal allies of the Lakedaimonians and seem to have retained their oligarchic constitutions. After Leuktra, however, the Eleians adopted a more popular constitution, threw off their Spartan allegiance, recovered some of the communities lost in the peace of 400 BC and joined a democratic alliance of Boiotians, Arkadians and Argives in opposing the Spartan hegemony and invading both Lakonia and Messenia. During their conflict with the democratic Arkadian League in 365–362 BC, nevertheless, the oligarchs regained exclusive control of the state and the Eleian *polis* again took the side of the Lakedaimonians. It was then that the Arkadians sponsored the formation among the Eleians of the Alpheios valley, who appear to have been heir to a strong popular tradition, of a polity called ‘the Pisatans’ and together with them celebrated the Olympic festival of 364 BC. When peace was concluded with the Arkadians the oligarchs retained control of the *polis* and the Eleians remained allies of the Lakedaimonians until, following an inconclusive Spartan-led campaign against Megalopolis in 352/351 BC, democracy was restored in time for the Olympiad of 348.

The Eleians who in the 340s BC prevented the return of their exiles and executed 2,000 mercenaries seem to have been democrats financed by Philip II of Makedon. With the appearance of the monarchically governed Makedonians as a significant power in Greece late in the fourth century BC, a new element was added to the persistent conflict between oligarchs and democrats which had characterised both the internal politics and foreign relations of the Greek states for centuries. The Eleians experienced regular changes of regime during the period of Alexander’s successors, and in 270/271 BC were briefly subjected to the tyrant Aristotimos, who enjoyed the support of the Makedonian dynast Antigonos Gonatas. The tyrant was soon deposed by oligarchs who then turned to the Spartans for support, but the Messenians intervened to place the democrats in power. In association with the Aitolian League from the mid-third century and (briefly) the reformist Spartan king Kleomenes III in the 220s, the Eleians consistently opposed and resisted incorporation into the actively pro-oligarchic Akhaian League. A passage of Polybios which has been taken to imply that they were dominated by a landed aristocracy during the reign of Philip V rather seems to suggest that their constitution was a moderate form of democracy.

The Eleians thus seem to have retained popular government from the synoikism of 471 BC until their defeat at the hands of the Lakedaimonians and their allies in 400. They were ruled by an oligarchy until the Spartan defeat at Leuktra in 371 BC, when a more moderate constitution was briefly established, and again

from 364. Not long before 348 BC they turned once more to democracy, but during the decades following the death of Philip II in 336 various changes of regime were brought about as the fortunes of Alexander and his successors ebbed and flowed. A moderate democracy established within a few years of the overthrow of the tyrant Aristotimos in 272/271 BC, however, seems to have endured until the advent of Roman dominion and the end of the independent political history of the Eleians in 146 BC. At this time, the struggle for democracy which had been a recurrent feature of their political life from the Archaic period onwards came to an unsuccessful conclusion. Despite the attempts of neighbouring powers to either dominate their relations with other states or impose an oligarchy upon them, however, the Eleians had managed to remain free of both foreign domination and oligarchic government for much the greater part of the more than 300 years which passed between the establishment of their unified *polis* in 471 BC and their subjection to Roman rule in 146 BC.

The political orientation of the incumbent regime in a Greek *polis* was not the only factor which ever contributed towards determining its foreign policy. If we are to look for continuities with which to characterise a civilisation, however, we might find that rivalry between oligarchs and democrats lay at the heart of the political life of the Greeks of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods. Although straightforward evidence is not always available for determining internal structures and events, what we do have suggests that this kind of rivalry, whether expressed in the daily political life of the various communities or manifested in outbreaks of extreme violence, was often the underlying cause of that other perennial characteristic of their civilisation, warfare between the various communities.

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